

Carl Schuchman 1949.

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE GYPSIES

BEING

A CLASSIFICATORY ACCOUNT OF THE GYPSIES
WHOLLY BASED ON MATERIAL ACCUMULATED IN
THE "JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY".

THESIS PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ZÜRICH
FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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OF
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RECOMMENDATION OF PROF. R. KÖNIG, PH. D.

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TO MY BELOVED PARENTS

FOREWORD.

The following study of the Gypsies has been determined and limited by war. The author's original intention, namely of making an investigation of the modern Gypsies, had to be abandoned because the material he had collected during his travels with half-sedentary and sedentary Gypsy musicians was not in his actual possession at the outbreak of war and could not be recovered in the succeeding years. After a thorough examination of existing possibilities, the author has mainly based his study of the Gypsies on material accumulated in the "Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society" including the volumes of the old and new series as well as the first seventeen volumes of the 3rd series and volume 20 of the same series, while volumes 18 and 19 were unfortunately not available. The material at disposal did not provide for the inclusion of a study of Polish, Russian, French, and Spanish Gypsies.

This study would not have been written were it not for the fact that the author has experienced the greatest cooperation and assistance from his teacher, Prof. René König of the Zürich University, to whom he expresses here his most profound gratitude. Prof. König has not only been helpful as an adviser to the accomplishment of this study but he has also shown friendship and solicitude for the author and thus encouraged him frequently in dark and difficult days.

Thanks are further due to the officials of the Central Library at Zürich for the kind assistance rendered by the ready provision of the numerous books and journals which were required in the complication of the present thesis.

Finally, the author desires to set on record his grateful appreciation of the material help accorded to him by the Royal Dutch Government through its official representatives in Switzerland which substantially aided him in the prosecution of his studies.

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Abbreviations.

JGLSo, I	=	Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, old series,	
			vol. I, 1888/9
„ II	=	id.	vol. II, 1890/1
„ III	=	id.	vol. III, 1891/2
JGLSn, I	=	Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, new series,	
			vol. I, 1907/8
„ II	=	id.	vol. II, 1908/9
„ III	=	id.	vol. III, 1909/10
„ IV	=	id.	vol. IV, 1910/11
„ V	=	id.	vol. V, 1911/12
„ VI	=	id.	vol. VI, 1912/13
„ VII	=	id.	vol. VII, 1913/14
„ VIII	=	id.	vol. VIII, 1914/15
„ IX	=	id.	vol. IX, 1915/16
JGLS3, I	=	Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, 3rd series,	
			vol. I, 1922
„ II	=	id.	vol. II, 1923
„ III	=	id.	vol. III, 1924
„ IV	=	id.	vol. IV, 1925
„ V	=	id.	vol. V, 1926
„ VI	=	id.	vol. VI, 1927
„ VII	=	id.	vol. VII, 1928
„ VIII	=	id.	vol. VIII, 1929
„ IX	=	id.	vol. IX, 1930
„ X	=	id.	vol. X, 1931
„ XI	=	id.	vol. XI, 1932
„ XII	=	id.	vol. XII, 1933
„ XIII	=	id.	vol. XIII, 1934
„ XIV	=	id.	vol. XIV, 1935
„ XV	=	id.	vol. XV, 1936

XIV

JGLS3, XVI	=	id.	vol. XVI, 1937
" XVII (jub)	=	id.	vol. XVII, 1938 jubilee number.
" XVIII	= missing		
" XIX	= missing		
" XX	=	id.	vol. XX, 1941

INTRODUCTION.

Before a sociological study of the Gypsies can be undertaken a few introductory remarks seem necessary.

In the following pages where a study of the Gypsies has been attempted, that people is referred to which arrived in Europe about the 14th century and since then has spread all over this continent and the rest of the world. That people is considered which manifests some linguistic and anthropological relationship with Indian peoples (Hindustan; Pendjab, Radjputana), which speaks or originally spoke "Romani", which wanders (nomad) or has wandered (sedentary) from one place to another without ever settling down and without exercising any definite profession. It is not possible to give a more exact determination of a people which has been exposed to the greatest variety of influences or in fact to do this in the case of any people that has undergone the passing of time, the change of climate and of environment, and encounter with other peoples.

The Gypsies are examined here from the sociological point of view. The social life of the Gypsies in groups is to be considered, that is to say, an investigation is made into the structure of the various groups which can be recognized among them. Furthermore, the position taken by an individual as a member of a certain group as also the place taken by such group among other groups of the same and different natures must be studied as well. The relations between individual members of such groups and the rules which guide them must be further taken into account. The place of Gypsy society in modern (European) society is to be examined as well as the attitudes taken by the Gypsies and the Europeans, the members of modern society, when confronted with each other. In brief, an investigation is made into both the internal and the external organization of Gypsy society.

Lastly, with "sociological" it is intended to point out that the

actual Gypsies of to-day are studied as to be distinguished from the history of the Gypsies. The material available, however, often makes it only possible that Gypsies of more or less recent times can be taken into account.

It will appear in the following pages that the Gypsies have been much influenced by other peoples and their social environment. The social environment of a society is not only the pattern

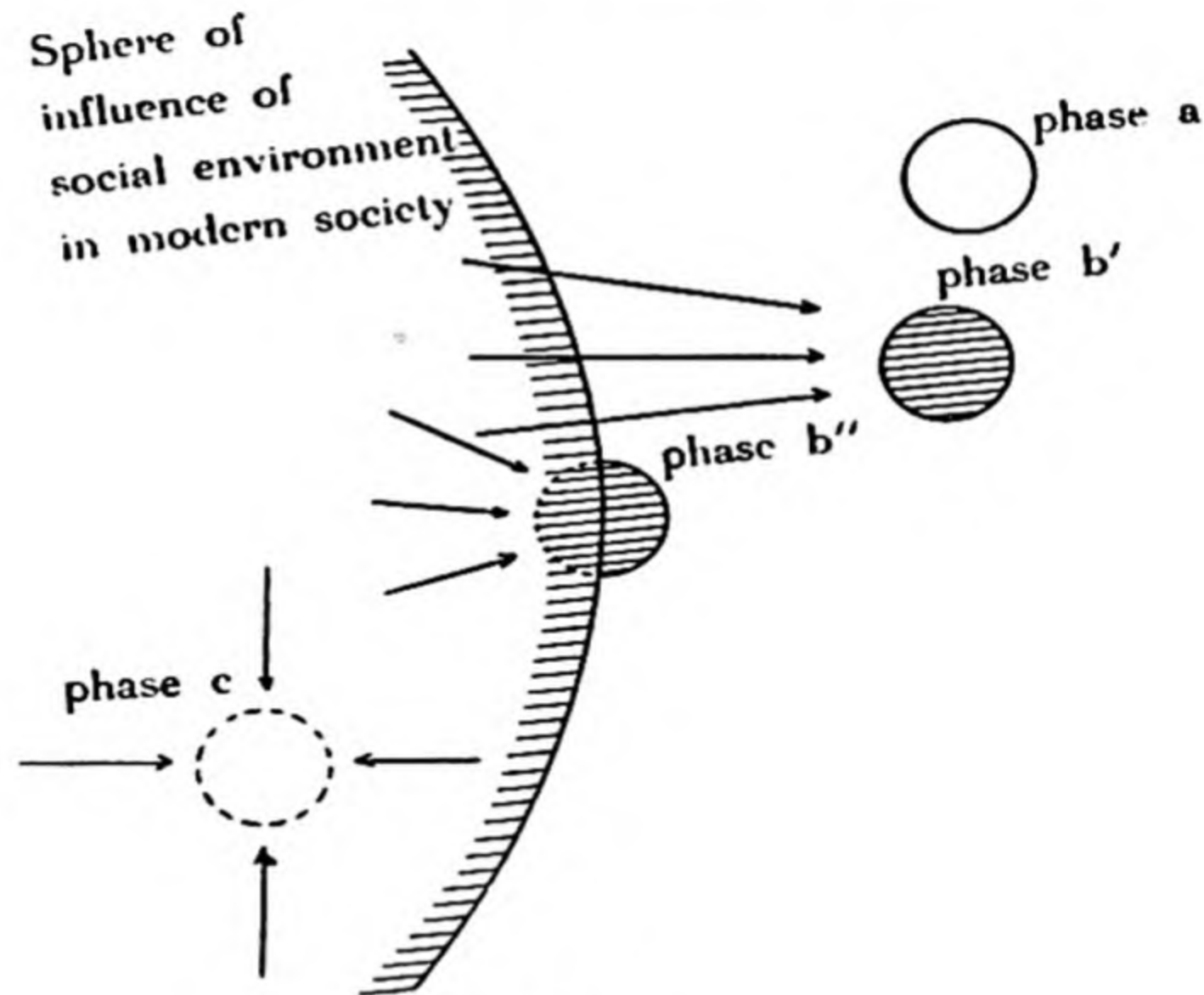


Figure 1.

which is imitated involuntarily by a minority living in that society but it also constitutes the total sum of the moral and physical forces that this society represents. The influence of the social environment may be expressed directly as in the cases of enforced laws and economic necessities but also indirectly by the examples given as in the cases of customs, habits, rules, and the observance of them. To illustrate, theoretically, the influence of the social environment of modern society on the Gypsies one may presume that a certain group of Gypsies at the time of its arrival in Europe is outside the sphere of influence of social environment

(fig. 1, phase a). But in the course of time and with advancing penetration into Europe this group of Gypsies becomes more and more subject to the influence of its social environment (phases b' and b''), and finally undergoes complete dissolution therein (phase c).

After these opening theoretical remarks, the sociological study of the Gypsies can be now begun.



CHAPTER ONE.

THE FAMILY.

- I. The selection of partners, courtship, and marriage.
- II. The immediate family.
- III. The dissolution of the immediate family.
- IV. The extended family (larger kin group).

The family is one of the basic institutions of society not in this sense that society is born in its midst but in the meaning that the family may be considered the smallest social unit to which society can be reduced (1). For our study, however, the term "family" is too general. For this reason we shall have to make a distinction, as is to-day generally done in modern sociology, between the "immediate family" and the "extended family". It is this "immediate family" which is meant when we write that the family is the smallest social unit of society. The "immediate family" includes as Gillin and Gillin point out, the "spouses and their offspring"; the "extended family" consists of the "immediate family or families plus other kinsmen", which, in its turn, coincides with or is a part of a "larger kinship group" (2).

The larger extended family may take several forms, from an enlarged family group to a kinship grouping, or from an unorganized family grouping to an economic or political unit. At first, however, we will consider the immediate family which in the aspect of the parents-children group is to be found in every society.

The establishment of the immediate family can happen quite naturally without any formalities, man and wife raising children. This is, however, a very simple way. Generally, rules exist in regard to the selection of partners, prohibitions, taboos, and compulsions to mate within or without the kinship, local, or

social groups. Very often there are provisions and duties of symbolic or traditional order to be performed before one can establish one's family (courtship). Furthermore the union must be recognized socially by the other members of the group. This recognition is granted in the marriage (3), which in its turn may take various forms going from the mere acceptance of the fact by the surrounding members of the group at the mating of the couple to a ceremony at which all persons related to the couple must be present.

Thus marriage becomes a very important institution in the family. This institution has been exaggerated so far that it was considered that the family rooted in the marriage. Modern Sociology has proved that the contrary is true and that "marriage is founded upon Family" (4). The recognized (married) couple founds its own immediate family in enlarging itself with its own children.

The functions of the immediate family are far reaching. Mother and child have to be nourished and protected, the children have to be educated, taught to work, and work itself has to be divided among the members of the family. In the family the position of the spouses may take various forms depending on the larger groups to which it belongs. The father or the mother may be the leading personality of the family. The children may be under the authority of a person foreign to their immediate family. But whatever forms and modes may be met with the small group, parents and their offspring, will always be recognizable among the larger groups because they seclude themselves from other groups of the same or of a different kind.

The dissolution of the immediate family begins when the children leave its inner circle through marriage or occupation or custom. Separation and divorce may partly or wholly break the connecting links of the immediate family, but only death makes its dissolution complete. Sometimes the children will stay among the kin of their parents or one of them and they become if they not were already so an integral part of it. At other times they will leave the domicile of their parents but they will keep up relations with their kinsfolk and consider themselves as closely connected with them. At other times again they will feel

no ties with their other relatives and give up all relations with them. At all times, however, they themselves will constitute an own immediate family, which will have its own place in the extended family, or in the environing kinship group or in society.

In the "extended family" it will at first be necessary to examine the tie which keeps its members together. This tie may be formed by blood relationship or by affinity (that is by "inclusion of relations by marriage of the consanguine members of the group (5). The "extended family", however, may be considered at the same time as a "larger kinship group" in which kinship is assumed in common descent (real or imaginative), this being the common characteristic of such kinds of groups. Descent is a means to establish membership to a kin group and thus becomes of primary importance (6). The "extended family" or the "larger kinship group" often constitutes a political unit in itself, directing its own economic and social life, exercising social control amongst its members (7). This aspect of the "extended family", however, does not interest us here and will be considered in the next chapter.

After the above summary of the aspects of the family which have to be considered in this chapter we will cause the Gypsies to speak.

References and Notes:

- (1). Vierkandt: *Familie, Volk und Staat*.
- (2). Terms as used by J. L. Gillin and J. Ph. Gillin: *An Introduction to Sociology* (Mac Millan, New York, 1942), p. 211. A similar distinction is made by R. Thurnwald. He differentiates between "Familie" meaning "Kleinfamilie", our "immediate family", and "Grossfamilie", whose members live together in one and the same locality and which is to be distinguished from the "Sippe" whose members are not bound to the same locality. "Grossfamilie" and "Sippe" are summarized in our "extended family". Lastly Thurnwald distinguishes the "clan" as a political unit. The last three distinctions are included in our "larger kinship groupings". R. Thurnwald: *Die menschliche Gesellschaft*, vol. 2, *Familie* (W. de Gruyter & Co., Berlin/Leipzig, 1932, p. 22).
- (3). Cf. Gillin and Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 341.
- (4). F. J. Wright: *Elements of Sociology*, (University of London Press, 1942), p. 156.
- (5). Gillin and Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
- (6). Cf. Gillin and Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 229 and p. 222.
- (7). Cf. R. Thurnwald, *op. cit.*, p. 164 sqq.

The following table will be used in our study of the family among the Gypsies:

- I. The selection of partners, courtship, and marriage.
 1. The selection of partners.
 - a) Allowed and prohibited partners (kinship).
 - b) Courtship attitudes.
 2. Modes of contracting marriage.
 - a) Age.
 - b) Actual mode of contracting marriage.
 - c) Marriage rites and sanction of marriage.
 3. Forms of marriage.
 - II. The immediate family.
 1. Birth.
 - a) Taboos.
 - b) Ceremonies.
 - c) Birth rate.
 2. Relations between the members of the immediate family.
 - a) Position of husband (father).
 - b) Position of wife (mother).
 - c) Position of children (childhood, education).
 - III. The dissolution of the family.
 1. Death.

Taboos, ceremonies, inheritance, death rate.
 2. Divorce.

Causes, ceremonies and procedure, frequency.
-

THE GYPSIES IN BULGARIA.

I. 1. a. *) The Bulgarian Gypsies are composed of several tribes. Generally, though the differences between the Nomad and the Sedentary Gypsies, the Moslem and the Christian Gypsies are great, intermarriage is concluded among them. Especially among those Gypsies who have become sedentary, intermarriage is not infrequent in the Gypsy settlements in the villages and towns.

Mixed marriages with the population are mainly known among the Drindari musicians who do not even want to know that they are Gypsies and who have adopted the mode of life of all Moslems.

On the other hand, these same Drindaris are held in contempt by the other Gypsy tribes probably because their dialect is incomprehensible and their profession unequalled by the other Gypsies. The Zagundjis, the poorest Gypsies of Bulgaria, are considered unclean by the other Gypsy tribes of that country (8).

I. 1. b. Among the Christian Gypsies ***) the betrothal is arranged in the following way in Eastern Roumelia (Bulgaria). The bridegroom sends his friends of both sexes to the bride's house where they ask her father whether he is willing to give his daughter in marriage. When the father gives his consent the bridegroom visits his bride the following day and she gives him and his friends a handkerchief as a present. Bride and bridegroom are then left alone for the rest of the day, and when the bridegroom leaves after dinner the betrothal has become valid (9).

I. 2. a. Not much is known about the age at which the Bulgarian Gypsies marry. Among the Zagundjis, Moslem nomads, it is

*) The indices before the lines correspond to those of the table.

**) Nothing definite is stated about the faith of bride and bridegroom. In the following case it is almost certain that they belong to the Orthodox Catholic religion.

customary to marry at a very early age and the girls are at that time quite unable to bear children (10).

I. 2. b. In Eastern Roumelia, preparations for the marriage ceremony begin on Friday while on Sunday the marriage is generally concluded. On this Friday the bride receives congratulations and a wooden bottle from her future husband through a person sent by him. This same person then fetches wood to bake the cakes on, which are prepared at both the bride's and bridegroom's houses. The next day the relatives of the bridegroom bring the dowry to the bride and at the same day the bridegroom's man, the "kirvo", is asked whether he accepts. Among the Mohammedan Zagundjis, again, a price is fixed for the bride by her parents. A part of this sum is paid before the marriage to her parents and the rest by instalments after the wedding. When this rest is not paid off the girl is reclaimed by her father. In this case her husband will elope with her (11).

I. 2. c. To return to our marriage ceremony, on the Sunday. On the morning of that day all guests go to the bridegroom to shave him and they bake and eat the cake which was prepared on Friday. Next they go with the bridegroom to fetch his best man and then all go to the bride's house where they eat the other cake. Following the marriage ceremony which has been celebrated in the church, a great feast is given at the bridegroom's house.

At the end of the feast and when the bridegroom's man has left, the newly married couple are shut up in their sleeping room by the other guests. In the event that the bride is a virgin, sweet raki is offered on the following day. On the next Sunday the red veil which covered the bride's face is taken off by the bridegroom's man "by means of two slender vine sticks and the veil is placed upon any rose plant". Afterwards the same man carries upon his shoulder two buckets of water taken from a fountain, which the bride oversets thrice. The fourth time, following the best man, the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom by another road, and kisses the hands of all passers by" (9).

Generally, the Moslem Gypsies follow Mohammedan rites, and the Christian Gypsies Christian rites of marriage.

I. 3. Nothing definite is known about the forms of marriage which are concluded, but it may be supposed that these follow the usages of the country. Among the Moslem Gypsies polygyny may be known, among the Christian Gypsies monogamy will be usual, Gypsy prostitutes are found in the towns (12).

II. 1. a. b. c. Among the Zagundjis, and very probably also among the other tribes, birth is given without help. Generally the mother survives, but about half of the newly born children die after the first six weeks. Nothing is known about birth ceremonies. Once the first child is born, as a rule many others follow. Among some Moslem Gypsies (Demirdjis, Sepetdjis, and Hasirdjis, all sedentaries) the children are circumcized. But usually the Gypsies are indifferent whether their children are circumcized or christened or not at all (13).

II. 2. a. b. No facts are known to me about the relations between the members of the family. From remarks on the occupations of the different tribes it may be ascertained that the woman do very much of the work that has to be done in a family, although the men, on some occasions do their part too, but at other times do nothing at all (e.g. the Zagundjis) (14).

II. 2. c. The children grow up wild, and freely adopt the habits of their elders.

III. 1. Nothing special is known about how the Bulgarian Gypsies treat their dead except that they follow the Bulgarian custom according to the rites of the faith to which they belong.

III. 2. Among the Zagundjis already mentioned divorce is not infrequent in the first years of the marriage. The cause of divorce is mostly the inability of the parents of the young man to pay all the instalments of the bride's price. After two or three years, however, when the young married couple has its own children divorce becomes rare (10).

References and notes.

- (8). Petulengro: Report on the Gypsy tribes of North-East Bulgaria. JGLSn, IX, pp. 4, 10—12, 20.
 - (9). Some letters from Paspatis to Smart and Crofton, ed. by B. J. Gilliat-Smith, JGLS3, V, pp. 106—107.
 - (10). Petulengro: op. cit., pp. 19—20.
 - (11). Cf. Note 2; Petulengro: op. cit., p. 19.
 - (12). A. G. Paspatis: Turkish Gypsies, JGLSo, I, p. 4.
 - (13). Petulengro: Op. cit., p. 53;
W. R. Halliday: Some notes upon the Gypsies of Turkey. JGLS3, I, p. 172.
 - (14). Petulengro: op. cit., p. 15.
-

THE GYPSIES IN THE SOUTH-EAST BALKANS.

To the Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans are counted those who live in Moldavia and Wallachia, in Transylvania, and in Hungary. These Gypsies are subdivided in several tribes, which we cannot treat separately as the material at our disposal in most cases does not specify to which Gypsy tribe of the South East Balkans it refers.

I. 1. a. As marriage partners the Gypsies generally prefer those of their own kindred. Mr. T. W. Thompson in his "Gypsy Marriage in England" (15) gives us a clearer view on Wlislocki's accounts on Gypsy marriage in Transylvania (16). We find then that originally about hundred years ago the Gypsies lived in clans where marriage to a member of the mother's clan was tabooed. The clan membership was determined in the female line whilst marriage was matrilocal, exceptions being made for men related to the family of a chief.

Moreover it was forbidden for a son to marry his father's sister, although he or his sisters were permitted to marry any other member of their father's original clan, these being no members of their clan *). A man entered a wife's clan in marrying her and their children were counted as fully belonging to the mother's clan.

In Moldavia, however, widowers generally have children in their company (17). The husband was subjected to the rules of his wife's clan and to the authority of its chief, whilst his wife, from her side, would bring with her the whole Gypsy outfit, tents, horses, etc. (18). The husband, at the same time, in a way continued to be a member of his mother's clan. At the death of his wife he would loose the membership of her clan and he would

*) Thus Cross-cousin marriage, marriage with non-uterine halfsister, with brother's daughter, with father's brother's daughter were possible.

re-enter fully into his original group. Remarriage into the clan of his wife after her death with another member of it or with one of his former wife's kinswomen was prohibited. But at remarriage into another clan it was yet possible for him to remain a relative of his former wife's clan "if he chose a member of it as his assistant at the first haircutting of his first child by the new marriage" (15). This rule, however, may be considered as a later adopted one.

Rather early these rules became loosened under the influence of environment and historical development, much more than by the regulations of the church, religion being for the Gypsies a matter of mere practical interest. Marriages within the own clan were not severely tabooed any more, except those between brother and sister, and, what is in no way clear, between uncles and nieces, and aunts and nephews (e.g. the Aschani and the Tschale) (15, 16). Thus, marriages between near relatives were allowed, though, as a rule, they were avoided (19). In more recent times the clan sentiment has decreased more and more although the man still enters his wife's family at marriage and leaves it on her death for his original family. Another remnant of the old organization is the importance that is still given to the authority of the mother of the tribe (*phuri dai*) (20).

According to Wlislöcki (21) remarriage of a divorced Gypsy was not allowed "so long as the other was alive", whilst temporary alliances were allowed; this rule, however, may be ascribed to Catholic influence (22). On the other hand, the branding or marking of unfaithful wives among the Gypsies of Hungary must have been an appropriate preventive against remarriage. Widows remarry more frequently than widowers, but this is explained by the fact that men generally die younger than their wives (23).

Among the Gypsies marriage between a poor and a rich Gypsy is very rare, thus class distinction is maintained. Furthermore, as a rule marriages with a stranger to the tribe encounter general opposition (24).

In Wallachia and Moldavia mixed marriages between Gypsies and local inhabitants were infrequent. Until the middle of the 19th century the Gypsies in those countries were regarded as

slaves and a rule existed there that a free person who married a slave became a slave himself. That this rule was not too great an obstacle follows from the fact that in 1766 the Prince of Moldavia was forced to decree the annulment of mixed marriages with Gypsies and to forbid them (25).

In recent times, marriages are known between Gypsy musicians or other rich sedentary Gypsies and local inhabitants; mixed marriages with nomad Gypsies however are never concluded (26). The non-Gypsies who marry these sedentary Gypsies belong to the lowest classes of society, although famous exceptions of well-known Gypsy musicians are known in Hungary as in Roumania as well.

I. 1. b. Courtship among the Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans often follows a definite ritual. Wlislöcki relates, that if a young man falls in love with a girl he takes one of the two red kerchiefs he wears on Sundays and presents it to her. The other kerchief he fixes to his tent but as a young man mostly has as yet no tent of his own, he fastens it to his girl's tent as a sign that they will soon marry (27).

Schwicker (19) gives a description of a more formal way of betrothal. He tells us that when a young man loses his heart to a girl he deposes one of his friends to have a look at her. If this friend likes the girl, too, he will announce to the amorous young man, that he has no objection to an eventual marriage. Both friends then go to the bride elect and propose to her. If she says "Yes" the bridegroom must still obtain the consent of her parents and fix with them the amount of the bridal purchase. Only after all these arrangements are made and the bridal price has been paid is the young man permitted to visit his girl. At his second visit he gives her a silver coin after having kissed it to seal their betrothal. Next he presents her with a kerchief for her head which she will put on at once if she is really in love with him. Girls especially try to find out what kind of a man they will marry, or whether he is in love with them too. To ascertain this they make use of various kinds of love charms and love potions made by witches (28).

Nowadays, the young Gypsy and his girl meet secretly

before asking for their parents' consent and many old forms are disregarded.

I. 2. a. Among the Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans, marriage is concluded at an early age, mostly between the ages of 14 and 18 years. Schwicker mentions even mothers of 13 and 14 years old (19). Marriages between young men and old women or young girls and old men occur frequently and are mainly determined by the advantage of a good bridal price or dowry and the wealth of one of the parties (29).

I. 2. b. Marriage preparations are various in kind. Continuing Wliskoeki's account (27) we see that the betrothed go at night to the nearest river about a week before their marriage. There, at the riverside, they light two candles, and if the wind extinguishes one of them this must be considered as an evil omen.

To change their bad luck they throw eggs and apples into the water. It may be noted here that similar customs are known also among the populations of Greece, Bulgaria, and Albania and are in no way particular to Transylvania or to these Gypsies (30). After having made these offerings to the Gods of the water, the couple returns home and begins preparations for their marriage.

The bridegroom goes round with some musicians to invite his friends and relatives to assist at the marriage. He makes this invitation, dancing and singing a song asking for gifts. Elsewhere invitations are sometimes transmitted by a man especially appointed for this purpose (19). In the meantime, the bride burns her charm, the "Himmelsfahrtsblümchen" protecting her against evil, which she had picked on St. John's Night before her marriage, out of fear that another girl may find it. Mr. Block and others tell us, that before the marriage can be concluded the bridal price must have been fixed by the bride's father and paid to him by the young man through the agency of his father. The bridal price generally consists of money, tools, or some horses. Furthermore, small presents are exchanged between the bride's parents and their future son-in-law. Sometimes the bridegroom is forced to make an apron for his bride (among some tribes in Hungary); this apron is burnt later at the wedding or at the birth of the first child (19, 20).

In the case that one of their parents do not consent to the marriage the young man and his girl elope. Another reason for elopement can be, that the parents of the girl fearing that the chief of the tribe wants to dispose of her, permit her to be stolen by her beloved. A couple of days after they have eloped man and wife come back to their tribe. There, both are punished summarily by their parents with some slaps on the face, but the latter accept the facts finally and the marriage as well (20).

Although the sedentary Gypsies in Roumania follow Roumanian customs and religious ceremonies at their wedding, C. J. Popp Serboianu points out that they keep up the payment of the bridal price and "the other customs" *) (26).

I. 2. c. On the day of the marriage, according to Wlislöcki, the guests assemble before the tent of the bride who accepts their gifts. Then the whole party goes to the church. Before the church they are addressed by an elder and afterwards the couple may then be married in it. In most cases this is done because after the marriage ceremony the priest also presents them with some gifts. Back in the camp, the couple are sprinkled with water, a well-known custom in the Balkans, and afterwards bride and bridegroom are rubbed with a bag filled with thorn-apple seeds to secure them against bad luck and the evil eye. Next the couple retires to its own tent while shoes are thrown after them to increase fertility (31).

At the return of the newly married couple of their retirement feasting begins. Schwicker adds some further details. The marriage is concluded at market time under a big tent. The parents of the bride and bridegroom rise to drink to the health of their children after everybody has been seated. After the bride and bridegroom have kissed each other, their parents execute a special dance and only when they have finished, are the others allowed to dance also, and feasting begins (19).

On other occasions the marriage is sealed by the parents, who are assisted by the chief of the tribe and the elders (26). Mr. Block narrates that marriage is generally concluded about Whitsuntide

*) It would be interesting to know what customs are referred to here.

or in the autumn. The marriage is simply sanctioned by the chief whereupon bride and bridegroom shake hands. It was customary, besides, in former days, that they should step over a broomstick. Lastly the marriage is initiated over a loaf of bread, some salt and wine by the eldest woman of the group, who breaks the loaf of bread in two and spreads the salt over it, when man and wife then exchange their portions and eat them while drinking some wine. After this the feast is allowed to take its course, and among the Transylvanian Gypsies, especially, lasts several days entailing heavy outlays.

It may be added that marriages concluded without the chief's consent or without his knowledge are not considered valid and that they may occasion exclusion from the tribe (20).

Some such usages are still found among Hungarian Gypsies. In Southern Hungary, the bride drops some blood "from her left hand on the hair of her husband during the wedding night"; and in Northern Hungary, both bride and bridegroom smear their left foot soles with each other's blood (32).

The wedding night is of special interest to everybody present. The question whether the bride was a virgin or not is of great importance as pre-nuptial chastity is held among these Gypsies in high honour. Even among the sedentary Gypsies such customs are still known, and in case that there is a negative result that the bride is no virgin they try to adduce proof with the aid of the blood of a chicken. But if the bride is found not to be a virgin, and in case of such deceit, her parents may count upon the vengeance of the relatives of their son-in-law (20).

In some regions of Moldavia and Wallachia a custom called "Diklo" is followed which will be described later relative to the Serbian Gypsies, where it is widely known. Among the Bulgarian peasant customs some traces of it are also found (33).

It may be assumed that church marriage alone is not considered valid among the Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans and that only marriage concluded according to Gypsy ritual is recognized. It may be noted that the sedentary Gypsies especially also celebrate church-weddings (19, 26).

I. 3. Marriage among these Gypsies is monogamous. In Transyl-

vania some cases of free marriages or absence of marriage regulations are known, where man and wife live freely and simply together (19). Gypsy prostitutes, in olden days, were very rare through the contempt in which the Gypsies were held and on account of the regulations directed against them, nowadays however they become more frequent. They are recruited among the women who have been banished from the tribe (e.g. for adultery) and especially among the sedentary Gypsies.

Among the Nomads, prostitution has not reached a high rate as they hold together more closely and maintain their racial pride, although Mr. Popp Serboianu mentions that their "girls and woman at first sight" offer themselves for such purposes (26).

II. 1. a. Among the nomad Gypsies a child is born in the most simple manner without help of a doctor and only seldom is a midwife called for assistance. The Gypsy woman may help herself perhaps before birth with a charm for luck, for example, a little pocket with red hair, or the loosening of all knots on her dress and in her immediate surroundings (34).

In case of a difficult birth the helve may be taken out of the hammer or out of the axe belonging to her husband, but that is all. Many regulations of a protective nature exist, however, concerning birth. Birth in the tent is severely tabooed, thus, the mother is obliged to go elsewhere either into the open or else in the house of a non-Gypsy for her deliverance at which she may be assisted only by a midwife and not by any other Gypsies. Such a midwife is considered defiled for the whole of her life and nobody may touch her or her possessions at the risk of being defiled one's self.

A short time after the birth the mother is allowed to return to her tent, where the infant will be visited by fairies for whom nutriment has been prepared to influence them favourably (35), or a fire has been lighted to keep them away (36). After this mysterious visit the mother is not considered unclean any more and she may be visited by other women. For her husband, however, the mother and the newly born child remain unclean during forty days until the child has been christened; at some places and in more recent times this period has been reduced to four weeks or even less.

Violation of these customs by the father makes him unclean, too, and he is punished for it. A sudden birth in the tent makes all the things which the mother has touched contaminated and they have to be burned and destroyed (35). Contrary to the above custom related by Mr. Block that birth may not take place in the tent, Wlislöcki mentions that "the mother retires to her tent" for this intention (36); and also Mr. Popp Serboianu writes that the mother stays some days in her "bed", adding that the mother is considered unclean after birth (26). These usages may be exceptions and in the second case especially a loosening of custom may be taken into account.

II. 1. b. Among the Nomads, the infant is bathed in cold water at once after birth during wintertime to protect it against cold, and in summer it is rubbed with fat to protect it against heat (19). The christening of the child may consist of no ceremony at all except that it is immersed in running water, but on the other hand several baptismal ceremonies are known.

One is, that the child is held over an open fire by the chief to give it "the vital energy of the sun, and to purge it of all evil influence" (37). Elsewhere, however, more complicated ceremonies are celebrated, for example among the Hungarian Gypsies.

The ceremony begins, according to Wlislöcki (38), with the drinking of brandy mixed with water and magical herbs, of which "three drops are sprinkled on the child's bed" and three pieces of bread put beside the child must charm the goddesses of fate to grant it beauty and happiness. It is then laid on the ground to give it strength and a circle is drawn around it by a "witch" who then proceeds to sprinkle coal dust and snake powder in the circle as protection against illness. In case the child begins to cry this is interpreted as a sign of future sickness, and to prevent this a piece of its navelstring is burnt over it by the "witch" and the oldest man in order "to bind the hostile spirits" (39). To tease the wood spirits who are envious of babies the children dance around the little child throwing nuts into the bushes.

Afterwards the child is washed with water and magical herbs and taken to be christened in church, while the "witch" with

some women throw millet seed into a near river to give the child fertility. Among other sedentary(?) Gypsies, the child is first placed on the threshold, then in all corners of the room on thorn-apples, next on the hearth and lastly on the family's eating place, where it is anointed with bread, meat, and brandy, to ensure that the child will have enough to eat and drink when it is grown up. Lastly it is kissed by all present.

Indian and primitive parallels to these customs can be found, but all these rites exist also, in one way or another, in the Balkan countries, mingling with other forms and superstitions. Sometimes, too, the father or the godparents drop a little bit of their own blood on the fire or they mix it with bread and rub the child's head with it to establish a bond between the infant and themselves. Analogous customs are known among Serbian Gypsies (40).

Later, the child is named after some quality it has, or after anything whatsoever, e.g. after plants; on the other hand, many names are used which often occur in the country where they wander, or after people with whom they frequently come into contact, all to hide themselves under a much used name to hinder identification. The child's name is changed if it has been ill to protect it against that sickness. In case one of twins dies, the other receives another name, also (35).

Baptism in church is considered unimportant and it is only undertaken to conform to the customs of the region where the Gypsies are dwelling, or for the more mercenary reason to invite some presents. The latter practice was so much exploited, many Gypsy children being christened several times at different places, that it was decreed in Transylvania "that children could only be baptized in their place of birth". In olden days it had a still further advantage: Through the baptismal certificate the child received at baptism, the Gypsy was later able to give proof of his age and name, his descendance, and to be acknowledged as a Christian. In more recent times the birth-certificate gives this information (41). The Gypsies, on their part, do not understand the church christening, whether the child is baptized in a Protestant or in a Catholic church does not trouble them and depends only on the ruling faith of the region where they are at the moment; sometimes they are even afraid of it and try to protect

the child against it. Yet it must be baptized, for the advantages enumerated above are too great. As godparents they choose a non-Gypsy, often a rich peasant woman, for she will also give a present (36). On her side, the peasant woman believes that to assist at a Gypsy christening will bring her good fortune.

For the Gypsies, in reality, only their own baptism counts. All other ceremonies are a concession to the non-Gypsies. It may be assumed that the sedentary Gypsies have adopted themselves much more to non-Gypsy custom in this respect than their nomad brethren.

II. 1. c. These Gypsies have many children but a great percentage of them die at a very early age in consequence of their rude mode of life and the rough way in which they are treated.

II. 2. a. The Gypsies have a great family feeling and they love large families with many children. Man and wife remain true to each other especially when they have children. The husband expresses his great love for his wife by giving her at intervals a good thrashing and she accepts this as a natural sign of his love.

II. 2. a. b. The father is the head of the family, he decides what has to be done in the family and he gives permission to his children to marry (42). Wlislöcki, however, speaking of Transylvanian Gypsies, minimizes the power of the father, because according to his observations the wife keeps a more or less independent place in the marriage on account of the fact that her husband is obliged to marry into and to follow her clan. He is subjected to her in some way as she possesses the household effects (43).

Dr. Gaster, too, finds traces of a possible original matriarchy among the Gypsies, in persons with the same surname in different clans (17). And lastly Mr. Block finds a trace of it in the importance that is given to the old women of the tribe (42). Hence, we may suppose that there is a trend which tries to lower the position of the wife as compared to that of her husband, and we see how the father rules in his family while its relationship and organization respond more or less to matrilineal rules.

II. 2. b. A Gypsy woman takes her own place in the family and in the community where she is well protected against attacks on her honour. On her side, she is obliged to observe several rules of a sanitary nature. She is not allowed to hang up her underwear in a tent, she may not touch any dinnerthings or food itself with her dress.

Furthermore, most work has to be done by the mother because the father is lazy and works only when he has to do so. He does not at all mind that his wife is busy during the whole day, begging for food and money or preparing the meal. Common to both of them, however, is their love for their children, and this is the link which joins them together.

A childless marriage is very rare and may often lead to divorce; a sterile woman will try by all means to become fertile, for without children she will be pitied and looked down upon by others, and by her husband in the first place who will suspect her of having alliances with evil spirits (42, 43).

II. 2. c. Although their parents love them very much, the children grow up wild without much care being taken of them and they go around almost naked. They play near the camp and when they are hungry, they go and beg or steal just as they have seen their elders do. When very young, they are employed by their parents on scouting errands. As they are very good at learning and imitating, they are soon able to stand on their own feet and to care for themselves (WlislOCKI says that at 8 years old already a young Gypsy boy has to fend for himself) (43). Among some Gypsy tribes the father teaches his children a little coppermending or music making, or perhaps another trade.

The various governments in the South Eastern Balkans have attempted since the last century to compel the Gypsy children to attend school. But the Gypsy children were looked at askance at school by their schoolmasters and by their non-Gypsy comrades. In regions frequented by Gypsies, special Gypsy schools were founded to obviate friction between the Gypsies and the rest of the population.

Investigations in such a school in Uzhorod (Slovakia) show that almost all children attend school regularly. Here they were

also taught music. It seems that this school has a healthy influence on its pupils and on their parents. The camp has got a cleaner outlook, the children steal and beg no more, they even wash daily. The children are at times somewhat ashamed of the deeds of their parents, a thing which happens often in families in transition (44). But such a state of affairs is an ideal exception. As a rule, the Gypsy children visit the same school as the other children and excel at playing truant.

III. 1. At death the Transylvanian Gypsies surrender to numerous superstitions, on the one hand to help the soul of the dead, on the other hand out of fear. Thus, a white dog licks the limbs of a dying person to facilitate his death; this custom is also connected with the transmigration of souls into animals in which these Gypsies believe.

Fear for the erring soul of the dead dictates many other customs. After death in a tent (or in a room) the corpse is taken out through the rear so that the soul may not find its way back. It is tabooed to use the name of the dead, for the soul might come back, but here, the wish to forget may also play a part.

All the possessions of the dead are burnt, first to destroy everything that could bring his soul back, but also to help him on his way and to procure for him also after his death those things which he used in his worldly life. With the same intention, namely to ensure his supernatural life, is the custom to put the favourite instruments and belongings of the deceased, violin, knife, watch, etc., and also food, beside the corpse in the coffin.

The dead are buried in an open coffin where this is possible; this usage is ascribed to the custom of driving a pole into the earth at the place of the deceased's head with the intention of removing the head later and to bury it elsewhere in order to hasten the putrification of the corpse, for only after this is completed can the soul leave it. On some occasions the grave is covered with thorns so that nobody may step over it (45).

Mr. Block tells us that before burying the dead man, his little finger is broken and a coin is attached to it by means of a little red string so that he can pay his journey across the "river of the dead". After death, among some tribes, a wild feast is held

for fear that the soul of the deceased will come back, and it is hoped that the noise of the feast will chase him away (45). At death ceremonies the Gypsies show much grief and they lament loudly, the more important the deceased was, the greater are their expressions of sorrow. Any absence of outward signs of grief is very rare.

All these customs, however, exist among the native inhabitants of these parts of the Balkans also, and it is very probable that the Gypsies borrowed from them; especially as other Gypsies in other countries have different death rites which do not correspond to those of the Gypsies in the South Eastern Balkans.

Religious burial ceremonies are held among some Gypsies and they vary according to the funeral rites of the respective region (46).

III. 2. Divorce and adultery are relatively seldom among these Gypsies. As reasons for divorce childless marriage, neglect of the children(!), laziness of the wife, may be cited. Divorce is pronounced by the chief, who occasionally banishes both man and wife until they are able to buy themselves in again, for example with a great quantity of brandy.

Adultery is punished severely, especially if the wife is the transgressor (47).

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THE GYPSIES IN SERBIA.

In Serbia we find four groups of Gypsies who differ in regard to their origin. Thus, we distinguish the Turkish Gypsies, the Roumanian Gypsies, the white Gypsies originating in Bosnia, and lastly a small group of Banat Gypsies coming from Austria. In this country only relatively few nomad Gypsies are found as permanent settlement is imposed on them by law (48).

I. 1. a. Among the Turkish and the white Gypsies who are Moslems kinship is patrilinear. Specific marriage regulations and taboos, however, are not known. As regards the Roumanian Gypsies who did not change their customs on emigrating to Serbia, the foregoing account on the Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans gives information, and this is applicable, in a general way, to the Banat Gypsies as well.

The Gypsies mainly marry into the families belonging to their own tribe, living in their own settlement or in their vicinity. Inter-marriage of Turkish and Roumanian Gypsies living in the same or in neighbouring settlements has been rare, but it is to-day not uncommon, especially among Gypsy blacksmiths, as, through the intermingling of customs and life among each other, original differences have disappeared. In other instances, relations between Gypsies of different origin are not so good. In such case they regard each other with contempt keeping closely to their own groups.

Remarriage after divorce or death is frequent among the country Gypsies, especially among the womenfolk whilst in towns the Gypsy factory workers generally marry once only and the musicians twice.

The Serbs regard the Gypsies as unclean and as belonging to a lower kind of the human race, although, on the other hand, they appreciate them and treat them kindly. But almost never is a mixed marriage entered into. An exception to this is made

by the white Gypsies who are not so dark as their brethren and who have almost completely adopted the Serbian way of life(49).

I. 1. b. Among the Serbian Gypsies betrothal often consists merely in the settlement of the bridal price; this is customary especially among the few nomad Gypsies of this country. On the other hand, this settlement of the bridal price may demand various ceremonies. Furthermore the influence of Mohammedan patriarchy must be taken into account.

Among the Mohammedan Gypsies betrothal is arranged by the father when the boy is still very young, a child; or sometimes indeed before he is born; the girl may be of the same age but she is often much older. In Rogatica a father asks a girl whether her father wants to sell her as a wife to his son, and if she likes the boy she in turn asks her father and after his consent has been given she accepts.

Then, three men, relatives of the bridegroom, settle the price with the bride's father, and when that is done they drink together. In Srebrnica much more ceremony is necessary. There, the father, with his whole family, including the suitor, go together to the girl taking with them some "raki" (brandy) in a wooden bottle which is covered by a cloth with golden coins thereon.

They are received by the girl's father who tells them whether he will give his consent or if he does not favour the marriage. If he consents, the father of the boy and his companions are invited to stay for supper and water is poured over their hands. After the bridal price has been settled they feast for three days and it is arranged that the marriage shall take place a month later (50).

Among the "Korano Rom", the latest Turkish Gypsy immigrants, betrothal is arranged in the following way. The father who wants to marry off his son selects a girl and asks his son whether he likes her. If he does so, a friend is sent to the girl's father to ask for his consent. The latter requires to consult his family and his daughter first before taking a decision and if they accept he gives his final consent only after the boy's father has visited him three times.

Then the bridal price is arranged but the father of the girl

does not receive much of this as he has to give most of it to the bystanders. After it has been determined how much brandy the respective fathers will donate for the party, the boy's father gives some money for the girl. The girl, on her part, presents a kerchief to all bystanders and her future father-in-law, kissing their hands.

A few days later, the boy's father goes again to the bride's house, taking with him all materials for a feast, to pay the bridal price. The friends and relatives of the girl's father who are also invited each bring with them some pastry as a present. Then the feasting begins and the day of the marriage is settled.

Mr. Winstedt compares this ceremony with the preliminaries to a Magyar wedding which are also conducted through an intermediary and where the guests contribute "knives and forks and eating platters" (51).

In Soko Banja, the girl selects her future husband and asks his father to purchase her. According to Mr. Westermarck the phenomenon of a girl choosing her husband is not uncommon (52). After a short time, three days before the marriage, if everybody is in accord, it is registered. It may be noted here that courtship is almost unknown among the above mentioned Mohammedan Gypsies as under these patriarchal conditions only formal betrothal, that is to say the settlement of the bridal price by the father, is of import (53).

Among the Orthodox Gypsies the betrothal customs differ slightly. At Resnik a young man asks the girl he favours in marriage if she accepts the sweets he has offered to her previously. Then, they fix the day when he will visit her with his friends and they both inform their parents. If the boy's father does not consent the young man tells the girl of his father's decision. On the other hand, the girl's father will tell the young man not to come if he does not sanction the union.

On the day of the betrothal, the suitor and his relatives proceed to the bride's house, taking food, brandy, and some presents with them. At the girl's house the fathers settle the bridal price and after this has been agreed the boy's father offers the brandy and food to all guests, while his wife gives the presents she has brought to the girl.

Next, both, future man and wife, are asked by their respective fathers if they really desire to marry each other. After both have answered affirmatively they shake hands with all bystanders and the girl kisses their hands and gives them small presents. — In Kopljari, the grandfather or father of the young man decides which girl he has to marry (54). Here, we see how among the Orthodox Gypsies, in one instance, the future husband is relatively free to choose his own wife, while the second example again shows us the power of the father to determine the future of his children and grandchildren, and thus manifests the high degree of patriarchy existing among these Gypsies.

The Roumanian Gypsies in Serbia follow in their betrothal and marriage ceremonies Roumanian customs as so far they have not yet been assimilated themselves by the Serbians. On the other hand, the white Gypsies have wholly adapted themselves to Serbian customs in this field.

In a general way, all Gypsies in Serbia imitate, more or less, the inhabitants of the country in the observance of customs and ceremonies and mode of life.

I. 2. a. Investigations which Mr. Gjorgjevic has made on the marriage age of the Gypsies show that in the country the Gypsy boys marry between the ages of 13 to 19 years (more especially 14 to 16); in the towns the Gypsy musicians around the age of 17, and the Gypsy factory workers even a few years later. Among girls the age of marriage is 12 to 18 years (more especially 13 to 15) for both, country and town. Furthermore, the marriage age of Orthodox Gypsy boys and girls is from 13 to 18 and from 12 to 16 years old respectively; among the Mohammedan Gypsies these ages are from 15 to 20 for the boys, and for the girls from 14 to 16 years of age. The reason that the Mohammedan Gypsies marry later is that they must purchase their wives and have first to earn the bridal price.

On the other hand, marriages are known of between children of 7 to 10 years old, or of a boy of that age to a girl 10 years older, but, to-day, these are exceptions. The Gypsies explain such early marriages with the argument that the wife must take care of her husband and earn for him, or that they desire thus

to procure for themselves a descendant who can propagate the family and celebrate their "slava" *) or who will burn candles for them in church (55).

I. 2. b. In Srebrnica, after the bridal price has been paid at the girl's house presents are prepared for her future husband, her mother-in-law, as well as clothes for herself. She also weaves her own begging bag for in her new home she will be obliged to go begging, too, as in her own family. A day before the marriage the unmarried friends of the bride go to the bridegroom's house bringing food and drink with them (56).

Among the "Korano Rom", some time after the bridal price has been paid, both fathers go with their friends to the "Hodja" to legalize the marriage and to deposit a sum which will be paid to the bride in case of divorce. The father of the bridegroom then gives the bride a trousseau and some presents to her family, and he arranges furthermore for the music on the wedding day.

On the Monday before the marriage the sister of the bridegroom prepares a cake and while she passes the paste through a sieve the groom fires a shot in the air. The baking of a cake, which often contains coins, is a widespread custom and analogies are found in Greek, Albanian, and German peasant marriages as indeed among nearly all European Gypsies (57). On the same day the bride is dyed in the presence of girls and women.

On this occasion one of the women dresses in men's clothes, inserts a stick in her trousers, and chases the others. This obscene custom which is executed "to ensure fertility" (58) can be compared with similar customs at Turkish, Albanian, and Serbian weddings. On the Wednesday evening the same ceremony is repeated, but this time the bride receives from each woman a headcloth or a little coin; a fire is lighted and the men join in the dancing. The next day the bride covers her face, after having smeared it with honey and red paint, and with yellow thread she has received from her future husband; this custom may be ascribed to Turkish origin (59). — In Soko Banja, marriage begins

*) The feast of a "slava" is that of the "Patron Saint of the family" (55).

on the Wednesday with a feast at the young man's house which is continued the following day. On Friday, the bride covers her face with honey and tinsel to await the moment when she will be conducted by her brothers to the bridegroom's home (60).

The bridal price among the Mohammedan Gypsies is rather high, about 3000 dinars, and it must be paid before the wedding. Among the Orthodox Gypsies, however, this sum is much smaller, 300 to 500 dinars. This difference may be ascribed to the fact that the Moslem Gypsies actually buy their wives, whilst the others close a more or less ceremonial bargain. The brides in both cases, Orthodox and Moslem, besides bring a dowry or a trousseau with them (61).

In case the bridegroom cannot pay the bridal price he will steal the bride and elope with her, but payment, no matter how small, however, must always be made for the bride. This is done by the bridegroom's father or by him through the agency of some of his friends a short time after the elopement and his father-in-law then generally accepts their marriage (62).

I. 2. c. Among the nomad Gypsies, the marriage is concluded with the payment of the bride price and the throwing of an axe over the house or over the tent by the boy's father to attach the bride to her new home.

The Mohammedan bridegroom at Rogatica sends his friends a couple of weeks after the settlement of the bridal price to the bride's house to fetch her. The bride is received by her future husband before his tent and she passes under his arm to signify that she will be dependent on him. Afterwards they are married by the priest, and, once home again, they go to a willow-tree which the father of the bridegroom pricks three times with a knife wishing that his daughter-in-law may grow as does the tree.

In olden times, the marriage was concluded by the eldest man, the bride and bridegroom walking three times around a beech-tree (63). To-day, however, the Gypsies are obliged to marry legally. — In Srebrnica the bride is fetched by one of the nearest relatives of the bridegroom who gives her the ring. On her arrival at his home the bridegroom has to pay his brothers for the gifts his bride has brought. Here, the marriage concluded around a

willow-tree is still considered more binding than the legal marriage.

Under the influence of time and law, however, the old customs tend to disappear more and more or to adapt themselves to the Serbian ways (64). — Among the "Korano Rom" the bride is fetched on the Thursday by the guests of the bridegroom and they bring her escorted by bridesmaids to the groom's home, but not before the bride's father has thrice vainly called her back.

Arrived at her new home, the bride is "lifted down by her father-in-law, and his wife meets her with a sieve full of oats which she scatters among the people throwing the sieve away when empty just like the German Gypsy chief throws away the cup he has drained"; this custom is "intended as a prognostication of plenty" (65). The bride then smears the doorpost with honey "to secure the future happiness of her marriage" (66). She next takes three leaves of bread into the house where a brother-in-law lifts her veil with a pistol. Outside, the guests have a race for a handkerchief and they dance.

These customs are not gypsy by origin, on the contrary. The honey on doorposts finds its parallels in Croatia, in Turkey, and in Wallachia, and the race at a wedding is even known in Scotland (67). The bridegroom, for his part, is bathed and then blessed by his father and his mother. Finally he is escorted to the bridal chamber where his bride awaits him; she washes her face and before going to bed they both eat the cake baked on the Monday, he breaking it with one and she with two hands. During the night the guests indulge in feasting, and in the morning the bride and bridegroom come out of their room, the man affirming that his wife was a virgin, while an old woman displays the chemise of the bride to convince everybody of the truth of the bridegroom's statement.

The couple then takes a bath, the bridegroom kisses and drinks with his father-in-law and his companions, and the feast continues until night falls, whilst a collection is made for the bridegroom (68). — In Soko Banja the bride is escorted by her brothers to her future husband's home. Here they feast and dance until the couple retire. On the following morning, the bride places her chemise before the door to prove her virginity and later on she dances around it (69).

Among the Mohammedan Gypsies this "Diklo" custom or proof of virginity is held in high honour, but it is well-known also among other Serbian Gypsies. In Rogatica, the bridegroom himself shows the chemise of the bride to her parents and if everything is in order his father-in-law gives him a sum of money. In case something is wrong the bride is not returned as is done elsewhere, but she is allowed to stay with her new husband.

The third day after the wedding a feast is held at which the guests throw a few coins into a vessel of water, a common Serbian custom. — In Srebrnica, after the nuptial night, the bride is inspected by her mother-in-law and afterwards the proofs of her virginity are shown to everybody. If anything should be wrong no feast is held and the bride is sent home sitting backwards on a donkey (70). — The "Diklo" custom is widespread among the Serbian Gypsies and examples of it are also known among the Bulgarian peasants (71), and in Roumania (Cf. p. 17).

Among the Orthodox Gypsies in Resnik marriage is generally concluded on Sunday. On that day the bride is conducted to the house of her future husband and then both go to church to be married. Here, too, the "Diklo" custom was known, although to-day it is disappearing. This time, the couple are not left alone during the first three nights. — In Kopljari it is customary that the friends of the couple would steal something from the bride's house (72).

In a general way it must be assumed that the Gypsies in Serbia assimilate themselves more and more to the Serbians. Most of the customs described above are known in that country, and if not, they have been brought along from other Balkan countries, as Albania, Greece, Turkey, and Bulgaria by the Turkish Gypsies, and from Roumania and Transylvania by the Roumanian Gypsies. Slowly they adapt themselves to the customs of the country forgetting the former ones they were used to observe.

On the other hand, the laws obliging the Gypsies to settle down and to marry legally have forced them to accept Serbian ways. Thus, the actual sanctioning of the marriage is given by an Orthodox or a Moslem priest or in another legal manner, and no longer by the chief of the tribe or by the head of the family, although in former days only a real Gypsy marriage according

to their customs was considered valid. Such legal marriages are often concluded some years after the mating as before this time the partners were too young to be married, and the bride is held on probation during that time. Religious marriage ceremonies are celebrated mainly among the rich Gypsies who can afford them (73). It is very probable that those few Gypsy nomads who roam the country still marry according to Gypsy rites.

I. 3. Among the Serbian Gypsies monogamy is the rule, especially among the Orthodox Gypsies where polygamy is forbidden by the church.

The interchange of wives between near relatives among the Serbian Gypsies has been recorded twice.

The Mohammedan Turkish Gypsies are acquainted with polygamy but generally they are not rich enough to buy themselves a second or a third wife, and even then, before taking a second wife the first wife's consent is sought and she is permitted a divorce if she refuses. Some Gypsies sell their women publicly to the highest bidder (74).

A curious practice among the nomad Gypsies in Serbia is the co-habitation of the father with his son's wife until the former is grown up, when she is much older, say, about ten years, than her child-husband. The reason of this practice is to hinder the girl from running away, although it is possible that it originates in the "jus primae noctis" as a privilege of age. This "form of modified polyandry" (75), Mr. Winstedt states (76), is found in some classes of the Suder cast in India (Vellalaks of Coimbatore), among Ostyaks and Ossetes, and among Russian peasants. This shows that this form of marriage is in no way exclusive to the Gypsies.

II. 1. a. A Serbian Gypsy mother like all other Gypsy mothers loves children and she will use all methods and charms to get them. A mother who is expecting a baby is cherished by her husband who on such occasion takes all work off her hands. A midwife is called in to help her at birth, and charms are used to assist her, i. e. bread crumbs are dipped in holy water and an egg is dropped through the girdle on to the floor where it breaks.

As soon as the child is born other charms and observances are employed to protect it against malicious fairies; for example, a thread is wound around the bed, and the mother must stay awake during three days after birth. During forty days the mother is now called "Leusna" and in this period she is never left alone and she is not allowed to be in darkness or to turn her back to the child, otherwise it will become sick; moreover the child's clothes may not be left in the open air after sunset.

After its birth the child is at once washed and bathed; among some Bosnian Gypsies, it is laved in winter in ice-water and in summer in plain water, and at this occasion it is named by acclamation.

Mr. Gjorgjevic mentions nothing about uncleanness and taboos of pregnant women and of birth, but the fact that menstruating women are regarded as unclean and the care taken of the mother and the child indicate the existence of a fear of defilement (77).

II. 1. b. On the third day following birth, after the mother has taken a bath the child is named, although a provisional name was already given to it when born. On this occasion the midwife, who is believed to help the children in their later life, gives the infant a shirt. After dinner, the father names his child and blesses it. The midwife then kisses and lifts the baby three times, expressing the wish that it may grow up and have grandchildren. She then gives the child back to the mother who gives it a kerchief with some dinars in it, afterwards passing the child to its father who puts some money in its napkin. After this ceremony, the child is handed to its godparents and to the other bystanders who do the same. The name that is given to the child is generally a Turkish name and it is changed if the infant falls ill, even when it is grown-up (78).

Orthodox Gypsy children are generally christened, but their parents do not consider christening of such value, and the Serbs regard the Gypsies, baptized or not, as unclean. The same formality, for more it is not, is followed by the Roumanian Gypsies without influence, however, on public opinion as regards their being unclean. The Mohammedan Gypsies have either abandoned or

simplified the Moslem baptismal ritual, the more so as they were regarded by the Moslems as a much lower class, and even too dirty to be buried in the common cemetery. — The Orthodox christenings are registered, the Mohammedan ones are not. — In a general way, the Gypsies imitate the Serbians and their customs on these occasions (79).

II. 1. c. It can be understood that the Serbian Gypsies have many children as they love to have them.

II. 2. a. ab. b. In a Serbian Gypsy family, the father, or the grandfather when he is still alive, is the absolute master over all persons belonging to his family. As a sign of his love the husband beats his wife, just like the Roumanian Gypsies do. He regards it as the duty of his wife to bear him children but further relations to her are rather loose and he will readily change her for another. The husband is very often too lazy to work, he does nothing except drink and play cards while he obliges his wife to beg and work. Among other Gypsies the man works at times but he still sends his wife out begging. The importance of begging is so great that a man may be judged by the diligence of his wife at begging. On the other hand, the women are well trained to it so that even when they are wealthy they still go begging.

Economically the husband may fully depend on his wife, and on what she brings home. For his part, the Serbian peasant supports this practice as he believes that God will help him when he in turn helps the Gypsies, and thus he often parts with his best food. Furthermore, the peasant readily gives the Gypsy something because the Gypsy can help him too if he is in need, for example, with physical labor but also, and more important still, with doctoring and fortune telling.

The Gypsy husband expects his wife to adorn herself. Not much is known about defilement by women except that a menstruating woman and her clothes are regarded unclean (80).

II. 2. c. The small children are looked after by their elders when their mother is away. They grow up wild and not much care is taken of them. They see and imitate everything their

parents do and sexual life has no secrets for them. The Mohammedans among them, but then only those whose parents belong to the younger group of Turkish Gypsy immigrants in Serbia ("Korano Rom"), are circumcized, although nobody understands what it really signifies.

While the boys learn the trade of their father, if he has any, or just loaf around, the girls, as soon as they are strong enough to carry the begging bag, are taken along with their mothers and sisters on mendicant tours. On these occasions, the girl is taught how to do the job, how to tell fortune, and to use charms. Begging has a demoralizing influence on the Gypsies giving them "a feeling of uncontrolled desire for everything he sees". "This is most noticeable in Gypsy children", writes Mr. Petrovic (81), "into whom the inhibitory functions of a civilized society have not yet been inculcated. Try offering something to a group of Gypsy children and they will ask for more". "Such behaviour in small children is on the one hand the fruit of their parents' 'bag-psychology', and on the other, axiomatic reason for a whole race to live on the proceeds of begging".

Few Gypsy children visit school, in the country still less than in towns. In the towns real gangs of Gypsy children may be seen who go around begging in cafés and restaurants. The Gypsies regard the non-Gypsies as a beautiful race and thus they try to teach and adapt the looks and dressing of their children to the non-Gypsy ways, without much success, however, as the children run wild while at home among their own people which continues to live its own mode of life (82).

For their children's health the Orthodox Gypsies celebrate the feast of 'Bibi'. Bibi, (in Gypsy parlance it means 'aunt') i.e. the Cholera-woman going around to strangle children. The Gypsies have borrowed this idea from the Serbs who call cholera and plague not by their real names out of fear for them, but refer to them as 'aunt'. To-day, however, almost all Gypsies have forgotten the basic origin of the feast of 'Bibi' who has become for them a "Gypsy woman with her babies who likes Gypsies, protects their children from sickness, and at the same time hates non-Gypsies (gadzé), and strangles and kills their children".

Another reason for the feast of 'Bibi' is the need of the Gypsies

to celebrate just as they see the Serbians do (83). Almost in the same way the Gypsies create their 'slava', or feast of the Patron Saint, a custom wholly imitated from the Serbians. While the latter, however, celebrate only one or two 'slavas', which belong to the family and are inherited in the male line, the Gypsies create on every occasion a new one, for example, when a Gypsy is ill or in distress, he makes a vow to serve such and such Saint during his whole life if he will help him at the moment.

The Gypsies do not understand the meaning of a 'slava' by which the Serbian peasant hopes to guarantee himself a good year, but mix them up with other festivals and 'slavas' of other persons. The Gypsies say that they celebrate the 'slava' for the sake of their children, but at the same time they like celebrating as they greatly desire to imitate the Serbians. Only when a Gypsy has continuous bad luck does he break his vow to the Saint and adopts another 'slava', generally, however, he never breaks a 'slava' out of fear of the Saint to whom he has dedicated himself (84).

III. 1. Among the Serbian Gypsies death and funeral ceremonies are very much influenced by Serbian, Greek, and Turkish customs. On one hand they are dictated by fear of vampires which might escape from the dead, while on the other much is done to honour those dead.

When a man dies among the latest Turkish Gypsy immigrants ('Korano Rom') everybody ceases working until he has been buried. Immediately after death the deceased is washed, all apertures on the body are closed with wool and he is swathed in a sheet. In case the dead was not circumcized his right little finger is broken and a red thread fastened on to it, for fear that otherwise he will become a vampire.

During the time the body is still in the house it is watched over out of fear that an animal may jump over it and change in that way it into a vampire, a belief which is widespread all over the world, (e.g. England, China, Malaya) (85). Then the corpse is accompanied by the men, women being not allowed at the funeral, to its grave which has been dug waist-high for men

and breast-high for women, as the latter are considered greater sinners. The deceased is buried un-coffined in order that the body may decompose all the faster. These and further customs are very much alike to Turkish practices. Memorial celebrations are held on the seventh day after the death on which occasions the Gypsies promise never to use the name of the dead again for fear that his ghost might return (cf. p. 23) (86). Other celebrations are held forty days, six months, and a year after the death.

Mourning lasts a year, although no woman displays any external sign of it, and festivities are abstained from during this period (87).

The death ceremonies among long settled Gypsies of Jagodina are much the same as those described above, but a few differences may be noted. In the grave some money is placed in the hand of the dead to buy himself a house in the other world. After the grave has been covered, two poles are driven into the earth (cf. p. 23) at the place where the head and feet of the dead rest and a jug of water is emptied over the grave to chase away the evil spirits. Afterwards, the mourners, probably men and women, eat at the grave's side and on leaving they put a burning candle and a jug of water beside it. On the third and seventh days after death, water and uncooked rice is sprinkled over the grave and similar memorial celebrations are held forty days, six months, and a year after death to appease the soul of the deceased, while after six months stones are placed at both ends of the corpse and the grave is covered with tufts of grass (88).

Similar customs also exist among the Serbian nomad Gypsies and here the same fear of vampires is noted which is in no way, however, a specific Gypsy superstition as Mr. Winstedt remarks (89), but on the contrary, is only found "among Gypsies in touch with Slav or Greek peoples". Many nomads desire to be buried with musical accompaniment. They abstain from wine, coffee, and meat during three days after death and they pay some money for the soul of the deceased on the next Saturday, as well as seven and forty days, six months, and a year after it. Here, the women wear black mourning dress for the period of a year (90).

It is almost impossible to say where the Gypsies adopted these

customs as they all are practised in one or other place in the Balkans.

The Roumanian Gypsies in Serbia bury their dead according to Roumanian customs.

In Serbia the Gypsy cemeteries are generally separated from those of the Serbians because the latter do not allow the Gypsies to be buried by the side of their dead. More recently, baptized Gypsies are permitted to be buried in Serbian cemeteries (91).

III. 2. Among the Orthodox Gypsies divorce is rather frequent and easily obtained, especially in the villages and among the Gypsy musicians. The Gypsy factory workers who are permanently employed generally do not get divorced. At the divorce, the marriage contract is torn up by the priest who married the couple and the wife receives the sum paid before the marriage. Afterwards, she takes her daughters with her leaving the boys to her husband, and rejoins her own family. — Reasons for divorce may be the laziness of the wife, or if she earns less than her husband, unfaithfulness, etc. Mr. Petrovic mentions a case of Gypsy workers who beat their wives so long until they ran away and obtained divorces because they met other Gypsy women who earned more. — The Mohammedan Gypsies are divorced with equal facility but much less frequently because wives cost too much money. A Mohammedan Gypsy wife is allowed to obtain a divorce if her husband takes a second wife (92).

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THE COPPERSMITHS.

The Gypsy Coppersmiths who visited England in the years 1911—1913 belonged to a group of much migrating wanderers, who spread all over the world. They came from the South Eastern Balkans, especially from the Roumanian speaking regions, Wallachia and Moldavia. From these areas they passed into Transylvania. They cannot be identified with the other Gypsies living in those countries as they did not mix with them and kept to their own tribe. Their frequent migrations make them of interest for our study (93).

I. 1. a. Among the Gypsy Coppersmiths some cases of marriages are known where in one family the husband entered his wife's clan on marriage and was expelled from it on her death; the children remaining in her clan (cf. S. E. Balkans, p. 12). The presence of sons with their wives in their father's group may be ascribed to the fact that the father was a chieftain and in such case exceptions to the rule were made.

In another family, however, marriage was patrilocal the wife following her husband's clan. In both families several exceptions to these observances are to be found and it may be inferred "that the various families follow their own inclination, attaching themselves to any chieftain whose ability and success attracts recruits, even if they are only remotely connected with him". In a general way they married among members of their own or related tribes. With other Gypsies they had no relations, they despised them (94).

The names of the Gypsy Coppersmiths gave no definite information; it may have been possible that a boy inherited his grandfather's name, but no conclusive evidence was given on this subject. If it were true then it would be an indication of the existence of patriliney among them (95).

I. 1. b. Almost nothing was known about courtship among the Gypsy Coppersmiths. It was the father of a boy who arranged

for the marriage of his son. When the father desired a wife for his son he went to the assembly of the men and enquired indirectly who had a daughter for his son. When he had found a girl for his son he fixed the bridal price with her father and by this arrangement their children became betrothed (96).

I. 2. a. The age at which marriage was concluded fluctuated around 12 years old.

I. 2. b. c. With the payment of the bridal price which was very high, in one instance as much as 2500 marks (in Germany), marriage was concluded and it was followed by a feast of three days when the boy's father gave presents to each of the attendants. On the third day of the feast, the bride would collect money from the wedding guests "to build a little house". The bridal night was supervised by the women and the bride was subjected to a test of virginity.

I. 3. Marriage among the Gypsy Coppersmiths was monogamous. It seems that a father on some occasions had relations with his daughter-in-law but this may not have been the rule and possibly an exception in marital relations. Generally, the girls were, however, very chaste (97).

II. 1. a. Birth taboos were still observed among some of the families of the Gypsy Coppersmiths. A woman who had given birth to a child was considered defiled until three weeks after this event. All things she had used or touched were regarded as unclean and after this period was over they were burnt, broken, or buried. During the time of her confinement no man was allowed to see her except her husband. Those families who adopted more or less non-Gypsy customs did not observe these rules so strictly any more. — On the other hand, the child had to be protected against evil spirits with an amulet or charm, and the taking of its photograph was considered especially dangerous.

II. 1. b. At the christening of the child its hair was cut, a Russian practice which was also noted among the Greeks and

which was intended as a dedication to Christ; but originally, however, to the water-gods. In the event of the godfather making a present to the infant he would hold a collection for it as well.

II. 1. c. The birth rate used to be about 7 children per family (98).

II. 2. a. b. It may be assumed that the father was the head of the family. As a sign that he was a married man he carried a stick with him, probably to stress his independence. A married woman or a widow wore a kerchief on her head as a sign of matrimony. Among these Gypsies the women were treated much better than is usual among Gypsies. They were not expected to work. Of course, they used to tell fortune, but those women who did belong to rich families did not beg at all, although the poorer ones among them were intrusive beggars.

Women were considered unclean and they were, for example, not allowed to step over the men's sitting-places or over eating utensils; even their clothes were washed separately from those of the men. A defiled thing had to be destroyed, while a defiled person became an outcast. The locks of hair of an outcast woman were cut off as a sign that she had transgressed these taboos. These rules were observed very strictly, though, modern life made it at some occasions very difficult if, a woman, for example, stepped over an underground water-pipe the water that issued from it was considered unclean and could not be used; in the same way a woman was not allowed to sit on the top-deck of a tramcar in case a Gypsy man sat below. On the other hand, these Gypsies had acquired in a large measure the habits of house-dwellers and non-Gypsies, such as rising late in the morning and going to bed very late as well (99).

II. 2. c. About the children and their education not much was known. They were more honest than is the case among Gypsy children generally, though, begging was an usual habit of theirs. Probably, the boys were taught the coppersmith-trade by their father. Some children were even sent to school in all towns where they stayed, but this was a great exception to the rule (100).

III. 1. It is probable that the Gypsy Coppersmiths were afraid of defilement by death and of vampires which might escape from the body. At a funeral of a Gypsy Coppersmith in England the following customs and ritual were observed: After death, the corpse was washed and dressed in new clothes while the old ones were given away. Even new boots, without iron nails to facilitate the ascent to heaven, a necklace, and a silver girdle were put on the corpse. Beside the body a piece of soap and a towel were laid in the coffin, which was far too large.

Furthermore, the body was sprinkled with water and candles were burnt. They desired the body transported to the cemetery in an open coffin in order to give the dead a last look at the world as was customary in Roumania and Russia (101), but this was not permitted by the authorities and consequently the lid was placed loosely on the coffin. During the procession from the mortuary to the church the women expressed their grief by tearing their hair, beating their breasts and lamenting loudly as has been noted already among the Balkan peoples. At the Roman Catholic church a burial ceremony was held and the lid was removed once again from the coffin, the body was sprinkled with water and strewn with golden, silver, and copper coins while a flask of water was put in the coffin which then was screwed down, only to be opened again a moment later to afford a last look at the deceased. Finally, the coffin was carried to the grave by the men while the women were left behind lamenting.

At the side of the grave holes were made in the coffin to permit the dead to breathe, a custom which was observed also among the Roumanians and among the Turks in Bosnia (102). When the coffin was lowered into the grave the chieftain poured some rum on it and then he drank himself together with the other attendants of the ceremony. Then, the grave was filled with brickwork and a "heavy stone slab placed upon it", the men staying behind to watch the grave for some time. Back at the camp, a memorial service was held which was repeated forty days later. Three days after the burial some men went to the grave and poured beer over it, repeating this ceremony when they left the camp. Funeral feasts were held nine days, three, six, and twelve months after the funeral, a widespread custom

throughout the Southern Balkans which like the other observances described above was known in one or more countries there (103).

III. 2. Although, almost nothing was known about divorce among the Gypsy Coppersmiths it seems to have been not infrequent (104).

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THE GYPSIES IN GERMANY.

In Germany wholly different tribes of Gypsies may be recognized. The original German Gypsies, speaking the German Romani dialect, are the 'Sinti' or the violin-players, who already in the 15th century are recorded in Germany. Closely related to them are the 'Austrians' or 'Laleri', speaking almost the same dialect but with Czech and South German differences.

The 'Rom' or those Gypsies who arrived much later in Germany until the last century, originating from South Eastern Europe, must be distinguished, as they do themselves, from these true German Gypsies. Here one can differentiate between the 'Ungri' or the horsedealers (also called 'Lovari') and the 'Gelderara' or the kettlemenders who are linguistically related to each other. Lastly the 'Medvasi' or the bear-leaders may be noted. — The following account will be mainly concerned with the 'Sinti' and the 'Austrians' who may be both styled as German Gypsies. No differentiation has been made in the various data between a nomadic or sedentary state of these Gypsies; it may be assumed therefore that the accounts concern German nomad Gypsies (105).

I.1. a. The German Gypsies marry among each other, the 'Sinti' among their tribesmen, the 'Ungri' among theirs, and so on. The 'Sinti' who are subdivided in regional groups, as a rule do not marry out of such a group but they intermarry among the members of the family belonging to it. As this rule has been observed for several generations all members of a regional group have become more or less related to each other. Marriage prohibitions exist among them only for the nearest relatives in the direct line, such as the marriage of a son with his mother or his grandmother or a father with his daughter or granddaughter. Thus, in former days, marriage between brother and sister was allowed but not encouraged while, to-day, "the closest relationship permitted for marriage is that between cousins" (106).

In a general way, marriage among the 'Sinti' is in accordance

with their regional groupings endogamous. Sororate is not customary among these Gypsies, it is even considered indecent. Though patriarchy is the rule among the German Gypsies, remnants of motherright institutions may be found among the related 'Austrians' where a husband at marriage joins his wife's family whilst his children fully belong to it. Furthermore, Liebich speaking of the German Gypsies, probably 'Sinti', underlines the importance given to the opinion of the eldest woman of the group (107).

The names of the 'Sinti' give perhaps another indication in this direction as Gypsies are often called by their mother's name. This practice, however, is weakened by the fact that they probably preferred among each other a Gypsy to a German name of which the latter one of their ancestors had adopted or received through marriage with a German and which could be considered as an official registered name and used exclusively to facilitate their relations with the Germans to enable them to obtain passports and trade licences.

Furthermore, these Gypsies have a tribal name which they use among one other and again to distinguish one from the other each Gypsy has also a "Christian" name which is derived from any object at hand at the naming of the child. Sometimes, to make quite sure the father's name is prefixed to the Christian name. The 'Ungri' often buy or steal official names from the 'Sinti' (108).

Intermarriages between 'Sinti' and 'Austrians' have been recorded. 'Sinti' and 'Ungri' do not intermarry among themselves while the 'Gelderara' buy their wives from other tribes, although with great difficulty as they are great wanderers and a girl who has been sold to them is never seen back again (109).

Mixed marriages of Gypsies with non-Gypsies are relatively rare as the Gypsies cannot give up their Gypsy ways. On the other hand, in the 17th century, non-Gypsies who adopted the Gypsy mode of life frequently married Gypsies but, to-day, it is very seldom that a non-Gypsy will join the Gypsies. The mating of non-Gypsies with Gypsies in the 17th century was mainly due to the fact that many Gypsies with their families during the Thirty Years War followed the armies plundering and murdering

in the country through which they passed and that deserters and criminals found among these Gypsies an occupation such as they wanted and at the same time a good hiding-place (110).

I. 1. b. Courting is done by the young man. On such occasion he makes use of signs. For example, when he sees a girl he wants to make love to he will wear a flower or a ribbon of the same color, generally white, such as the girl wears. If the girl likes the young man she will not change the flower or the ribbon, but if she does not she will wear another color or no ornament at all. After some time the young man makes her a present, for example a handkerchief, in the same color, and if she accepts it they consider themselves betrothed. Moreover, his intentions regarding the girl the young man expresses in visits to her parents, when although, not a word is spoken about his aims he can see by their demeanour whether they accept him as a suitor or not. — Among the 'Gelderara' girls often wear flowers in their hair as a sign that they are unmarried (111).

I. 2. a. Among the German Gypsies marriage is concluded very early, probably about the age of 12 years old (112).

I. 2. b. After that the consent of their parents has been obtained the young man and his girl can be married. If this consent is not given they elope and come back some weeks later, and the fact that they are now a married couple will be recognized after both man and wife have been punished by their parents with some smacks in the face (113).

Wittich writes that if a couple wants to be considered as married it has to elope for a day or more, even when the parents' consent has been obtained beforehand (114). The actual marriage, however, can only be concluded after the young man has served and worked for one or two years for his father-in-law. Only after this period of probation has expired and no objections to the bridegroom are raised, is the marriage officially sanctioned by the chief. On marriage the bridegroom joins the family of his wife while his children fully belong to it. After the official marriage has been concluded the man is free to work on his own but he is always obliged to help his parents-in-law if they need assistance (115).

I. 2. c. Marriages are concluded by the chief of the tribe, generally on Whitsunday. At such occasions, after the chief has made a speech, the couple kneels before him and eventually exchanges rings. Then the chief sprinkles a few drops of wine out of an earthen jug over the heads of the couple to unite them, next he drinks the rest of the wine and throws the empty jug away so that it breaks into many pieces, the number of pieces giving indications regarding the future of the newly married couple. The breaking of a jug or a glass is a well-known custom in different parts of Europe observed to silence the evil spirits or to prevent others making use of it with bad intentions. After the marriage has been concluded the feast is opened with a dance by the chief and his wife.

Only a Gypsy marriage concluded in Gypsy fashion is considered valid by the other Gypsies. Church marriages are only concluded either to legalize the marriage mainly for the advantages it spells or to conform to the customs of the country (116).

I. 3. Marriage among the German Gypsies is monogamous. Although, intercourse is not bound to very severe rules, promiscuity is tabooed and the chastity of a girl is closely guarded. On the other hand, an illegitimate child is not regarded as a disgrace to a woman. We have seen that among the Sinti' marriage is preceded by a trial marriage lasting about two years and that the 'Gelderara' buy their wives.

Prostitution and intercourse with non-Gypsies are very rare, in the first place because the Gypsies prefer those of their own kind, in the second place because they maintain a kind of mutual control ensuring that a girl may not leave the camp alone or a Gypsy woman may go trading or begging alone (117).

II. 1. a. At birth many defensive rules are observed. Even before birth a pregnant woman tries to hide her condition. The birth may not take place in the van or in the tent but the woman has to go into a barn of a farm or into the open for this occasion. Sometimes, a special tent for birth is set up. Birth in a van or in a tent causes all things in it and the van or tent itself to become defiled and everything has to be sold or destroyed.

The newly born child is washed in cold water in a hole dug in the earth. After the birth the mother and her child return to the van or tent. The period of defilement, however, lasts from two weeks to two months after birth. During this period, the mother is attended by women and she is not allowed to touch any object other than she needs, nor are the father or other men permitted to see the newly born child and the father may not even touch it before it has been baptized.

After birth and when the period of pollution is over, all things used at birth and touched by the mother are destroyed, so that nobody may touch them and become defiled in that way. A midwife is called in only very seldom to assist at birth as such a person is considered unclean for the whole of her life (118).

II. 1. b. After birth the child is baptized as soon as possible, it does not matter in what kind of a church, Protestant, Catholic or of other denomination. Sometimes, the child is baptized several times. The advantage of baptism is that the child receives a baptismal certificate to legalize it and at the same time presents are given to it by the non-Gypsy godparents. The only reason for baptism is the advantage it implies to the Gypsy child. — About specific Gypsy christenings nothing is recorded (119).

II. 1. c. Gypsies have many children as a Gypsy mother gives birth to a child about every year (120).

II. 2. a. b. The German Gypsies keep closely together and they love their relatives very dearly. In a Gypsy family the father is the head of it and he is also the head of his brother's family if the latter has died. The head of the family arranges the division of labor, he receives the money the members of his family have earned and he decides the direction to take on their wanderings. But more he does not do, nor do the other men; the whole day long they spend their time loafing and playing cards although at times they try to sell a worthless violin. All work in the family has to be done by the women. A wife that has earned much money during her lifetime will be held in high honour after her death; a lazy wife, however, is considered to be no good. The 'Sinti'

wives indeed leave the camp in the morning and go trading their wares in the neighbourhood and at the same time they beg, their begging bag being hidden under their skirts. On their return home the women have to give everything they have earned to their husbands. Some influence women must have had because Liebig mentions that great importance was attached to the opinion of the eldest woman of the group (Cf. Germany, I. 1. a, p. 50) (107). — Among the 'Ungri' the man does all work, although his children and occasionally his wife too, go begging (121).

II. 2. b. A 'Sinti' woman has to observe many taboos regarding the dangers of defilement. A woman is not only regarded as unclean at birth-time but she must always take care that she does not pollute other people's things with her clothes. A woman's linen is washed separately from that of the man and afterwards her underclothes may not be hung in the van to dry. Blood and everything connected with it is regarded as unclean. A woman in menstruation is considered still more dangerous, especially for the men for whom she is not allowed to cook food or even to touch it during such a period, although children and other women do not become not defiled thereby. Women may not even be heard by men talking about their periods of menstruation; out of danger for defilement it is severely forbidden for a woman to step over men or over food. Non-observance of these taboos may be the cause of heavy punishment (122).

II. 2. c. Gypsies love their children very dearly but the German Gypsies, like the other Gypsies, do not take care of them. They are left behind in camp where, eventually, they must look after their smaller brothers and sisters. No education is given to them and they learn by imitating their elders. They visit school at irregular times where they learn to write and read, an unknown art to their parents. Among the 'Ungri' the children are sometimes obliged to assist their father with his work (123).

III. 1. At death the German Gypsies give way to many superstitions and observances directed by fear of the ghosts of the

dead. The name of the deceased is not pronounced for a long time after his death sometimes never again.

After his death the deceased is washed at once and dressed in his best clothes. The body is laid in a coffin or in a hollow tree and the things the dead used most, his knife, wine, and food are put beside him in the coffin, so that he has them at hand in his supernatural life. Later, after the deceased has been buried, wine, brandy, or beer is sprinkled on the grave to keep off the evil spirits. The grave itself is marked by a gravestone or a tree and is visited regularly by other Gypsies who also pour drink over it.

After burial all the belongings of the deceased, his clothes and other things he used are burnt, buried or otherwise destroyed; even the van in which he lived has to be destroyed although poor Gypsies sell it to non-Gypsies. From a foot-point which has been made in the ashes after all the belongings have been burnt it is predicted on the following day who will be next to die. Excepting the widow all Gypsies mourn and lament loudly after a death has occurred. Further outwards signs of grief are not shown, although Mr. Winstedt (124) mentions a case where red and yellow ribbons were used as an outer sign of mourning; it is not certain, however, that 'Sinti' are referred to here as Mr. Otter (125) states that their mourning colour is black.

If a Gypsy mother has died her children are not allowed to wash their hair for a period of six weeks. As soon as the burial is over a funeral feast is held. The deceased is remembered a long time and as a sign of mourning the relatives of the dead abstain from his favourite food during a whole year, but in more recent times, probably in imitation of the Roman Catholics, they fast only on Fridays. Furthermore, they offer all first-fruits for the soul of the dead and give them to poor non-Gypsies. A year after death they visit the grave again where they then hold a memorial celebration (126).

All possessions of the dead which have not been destroyed and which have not been defiled by death are inherited by the widow, the children or the brothers of the deceased, while on the new head of the family, the brother or the son of the dead, devolves the duty to care for the family whereby he receives all the

instruments used by the deceased in the pursuit of his trade. From this it may be concluded that not all belongings of the dead are destroyed but only those which were defiled during the illness, for example, the van, only when death occurred in it (127).

Liebich mentions that formerly the Gypsies buried the old and sick alive. The same is said about the Gypsies in Norway but it has never been proved. Concerning the death rate Liebich states that it is much lower than among non-Gypsies of the same standard of living but he gives no figures (128).

III. 2. The family is dissolved on some occasions through repudiation of the wife or through adultery followed by divorce. When a husband does not like his wife or if he deems her too lazy, he simply repudiates her with her children. Adultery is rarely advanced as a motive because only very serious breaches of marital customs are taken into consideration which are heavily punished in such cases by casting out the offender. Another reason for divorce is a childless marriage. The divorce is pronounced by the chief (129).

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THE GYPSIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The Gypsies of Great Britain may be divided, in a general way, in English, Scotch, and Welsh Gypsies. The following account will mainly deal with the English Gypsies. In the 'Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society' many excellent articles by T. M. Thompson on Gypsy family and marriage may be found (130) and for this reason in the following account the details will be omitted which are furnished in those studies.

1.1.a. Among the English Gypsies endogamy prevails, though, in the younger generations a loosening trend is noticeable. W. H. R. Rivers in his commentary on the Heron pedigree shows this clearly (131). From this pedigree reaching over six generations of Herons it is seen that marriages with non-Gypsies have increased: 1 (10 %) out of 10 marriages in the 2nd, 0 (0 %) out of 37 marriages in the 3rd, 7 (10 %) out of 71 marriages in the 4th, 14 (22 %) out of 64 marriages in the 5th, and 5 (15 %) out of 34 marriages in the 6th generations.

If the two first and the three last generations are taken together, as Mr. Rivers chooses, the trend to Gypsy exogamy becomes even clearer: 1 (2 %) marriage with non-Gypsies, 4 (9 %) marriages with half-Gypsies out of a total of 47 marriages in the 2nd and 3rd generations; 26 (15 %) marriages with non-Gypsies, 35 (20 %) marriages with half-Gypsies out of a total of 169 marriages in the 4th, 5th, and 6th generations. On the other hand, this comparison shows that marriages with Gypsies are still the rule.

Among the English Gypsies not many marriage restrictions are known. Marriage with a relative in the direct line is tabooed and, in a general way, a marriage of children of common parents is also prohibited (132). Other restrictions are not known, except those which forbid marriage with a person considered unclean and to which even marriage with a non-Gypsy may be preferred (133).

Although, to-day, relationship is recognized through both paternal and maternal lines there is definite proof that in the 19th century matriliney and matrilocy were still in existence among the English Gypsies. In his 'Social Polity of the English Gypsies' Mr. Thompson (134) gives a description of some of the maternal clans existing in the last century.

In the Chilcott-Smith-Lee-Boswell-Young-Brown-Buckley group two subdivisions were recognizable: one headed by John Chilcott, the other headed by Ambrose Smith, working together and meeting each other at regular intervals. With John Chilcott were his four married daughters and their husbands with their offspring, while with Ambrose Smith were his four sisters and their husbands with their children. In these subdivisions marriage was matrilineal the man following his wife's group the children belonging to the wife. An exception to this rule was made for headmen who were not obliged to join their wives' groups. With new-born generations the groups became larger and then broke up into new sub-groups which had their own headmen and this may account for the fact that matrilocy is not clearly visible any longer the new headmen observing their privilege, as well. On the other hand, "decay set in, resulting gradually in a weakening of the boundaries between the different social groups, until finally anything resembling a 'clan' became difficult to discern. Confusion of another kind would readily arise too, for if a man belonging to a social group which retained matrilocy as a general principle married a woman whose kindred had no strong leaning towards it, he might easily become an exception to the rule obtaining among his own kindred" (135). More examples of matrilineal marriages are given in the groups formed by the daughters of 'No Name' Heron and Taiso Boswell, and others.

Further proof of the pre-existence of maternal clans may be found in the exclusion formerly existing of members of the father's family of inheritance, or in the assertion of two Gypsy wives that their mothers' sisters were their only real aunts or that children should follow their mother's name (136).

The foregoing facts show clearly that matriliney and matrilocy were originally in existence among the English Gypsies. To-day, probably, most of these rules have been forgotten but the custom

that the woman has to support the family is still in existence.

A study of marriage partners shows that a division is possible here of marriage between near kindred, between other relatives, between unrelated Gypsies, and lastly mixed marriages of Gypsies with non-Gypsies. Here again a complete study by Mr. Thompson and the 'Notes' of Mr. Rivers give all accessible information (137). Thus, among the English Gypsies marriages between close relatives are very frequent. Mr. Rivers mentions one exception to the taboo of marriage between brother and sister among the Herons. The closest relationship between marital partners mentioned by Mr. Thompson is that between uncles and nieces, and between aunts and nephews. As a general rule these marriages are rather rare.

From the cases mentioned it is seen that uncles marry more frequently their nieces, than aunts their nephews, and that in these cases mostly brothers' daughters were preferred by their uncles to sisters' daughters. Among some families, first-cousin marriages have been and still are very common and they have always been preferred to second-cousin marriages.

In two of the three groups mainly studied by Mr. Thompson he finds a majority of ortho-cousin marriages to cross-cousin-marriages. In these two groups endogamy and matriliney prevail, excluding the present trend to Gypsy exogamy, which has been mentioned above, and only taking into account marriages among Gypsies, while Gypsy custom and language have been preserved there much better than in the third group. Furthermore, Mr. Thompson concludes that "these ortho-cousins were more generally the children of two sisters" in the first two groups and of two brothers in the third. It may be added that some Gypsies regard marriages with a namesake preferable and to be lucky. Among Southern Gypsy families more cross-cousin than ortho-cousin marriages with a preference for the daughters of a mother's brother (instead of those of a father's sister) may be noted (138).

If a marriage with a close relative or another relation cannot be concluded the English Gypsies often marry one of their relations-in-law. Mr. Thompson finds here that there are more cases where two brothers or more married a like number of sisters than that a brother and a sister married a sister and a brother.

This kind of marriages has been perhaps concluded so that the two brothers or sisters might not be alone in entering a group other than their own.

At the same time it is stated that formerly it was customary that a young widow would marry one of her husband's brothers (levirate) as the reverse (sororate) was usual; but since the middle of the last century levirate and sororate have been very rare among these Gypsies. Nothing definite is known about a seniority rule in connexion with levirate and sororate, i.e. that only remarriage with a younger parent-in-law may be concluded. It seems that formerly it was a rule that a younger sister could not be given in marriage before her senior was married (139).

Cases of polygyny are known among the English Gypsies. In most of these cases the co-wives were sisters. Furthermore, Mr. Thompson mentions some cases where a husband held marital intercourse with his wife's younger sister before they married. On some occasions such relations were relatively permanent and they might be classed as "unstable polygyny", on other occasions, however, these relations were very short and bore more resemblance to trial marriages, exchanging one sister for another (140).

Marriages with non-related Gypsies are often made impossible by taboos against other Gypsy families which for one or another reason are considered unsuitable or even unclean. Fundamentally, class distinction may be considered as an important factor. In one family it was considered better "to marry with a 'gajo' (non-Gypsy) than to a Gypsy girl with 'moxadi' (unclean) ways" (141).

Although, in some Gypsy families there is still strong opposition to mixed marriages the latter are becoming more frequent as time goes on as has already been shown above. That formerly a mixed marriage was rare was not due in the first place to taboos against such unions but to the low place in society which was held by the Gypsies and by the weight of public opinion directed against them. But at the end of the 18th century already mixed marriages were no longer very rare (142).

We may conclude that among the English Gypsies family group endogamy prevails but that except this preference for near kindred there are no signs of a general Gypsy endogamy. On

the contrary, a trend to Gypsy exogamy may be noted which is caused not only by Gypsy decay but also by the wish of the Gypsies to raise their social standing.

I. 1. b. The English Gypsies have few courtship and betrothal customs and regulations. Among the present English Gypsies the chastity of the unmarried girls has been well preserved. But this favourable state of affairs is not only due to the wearing of a virginal girdle, as once it was customary for an English Gypsy girl to protect her maidenhood, and to the severe prohibitions of pre-nuptial intercourse. The early age of marriage and the short time of courtship are moreover two other very realistic factors to guarantee the purity of the young girl. It may be noted on the other hand, that unmarried girls cohabit with their married sisters' husbands (143).

As the girls generally never meet their lovers alone, although, to-day, this regulation may have been loosened, also use is made of signs to signify their inclinations. Thus, the girl will wear a handkerchief, which she has received from her lover, when she loves him or she will not protest when he presses her foot as she would do if she did not like him.

Other more formal signs are the presenting of something red to the young man by the girl as a sign that she accepts his advances or the tossing of a cake containing coins to him; these old customs, however, have never been confirmed by other investigations but as they are generally known among other peoples they may be regarded as borrowings. Other signs are known to signify betrothal. It once seems to have been customary for instance as it still is usual to-day among the Turkish Gypsies to drink out of the same cup, an action forbidden for a man and a girl of different families.

Another sign, noted at the beginning of this century, is that the girl sits apart from her lover when another suitor comes and loosens her hair to signify that she is betrothed already; this custom is mentioned among other Gypsies in association with childbirth and where it is considered as a most defiling action. Here again, we have an unoriginal custom, observed among various races, to facilitate birth (144).

During the short time that the betrothal lasts the girl and her lover are not supposed to make love to each other, although they are allowed to be in each others' company. Except for the rich families formal betrothal is not generally observed among the present Gypsies in England. The long periods of betrothal mentioned as being customary among English Gypsies by some authors are not in accordance with the facts.

On some occasions a lover sends one of his friends to his girl to make love to her. If the girl does not resist this constancy test and responds to her lovers' friend the betrothal is dissolved. This practice is still observed to-day in some families (145).

I. 2. a. The marriage age of the English Gypsies has risen in modern times to 20 years of age for girls and 21—22 for men, as compared with 14—15 for girls and a few years more for men in former days (146).

I. 2. b. We have seen above that formal betrothal is not customary among the English Gypsies. The girl and her lover arrange together to marry each other. In the interval, during their engagement, they still must live separate from each other, and in some families parental control is severe on this subject. That a man should steal a wife for himself without asking her consent has never been a habit among these Gypsies and the instance known of it (Dick Heron and his sons) is an unsuccessful exception (147).

Among the English Gypsies conditions to be fulfilled before marriage can be concluded are very rare or do not exist at all. In some families the lovers were obliged to promise fidelity to each other before they married. The Scotch Gypsies seem to have made more formal marriage rules. Thus, it is recorded that at one time the bride's mother and the bridegroom's father slept with each other "for three or four nights immediately previous to the celebration of the marriage" to ensure the consummation of the marriage, and also perhaps to cast a spell on them by force of previous example (148).

Among the English Gypsies it is not customary to buy a bride with money or by work. The husband generally brings the outfit

and the van with him and his wife, on some occasions, receives a dowry, a sum of money, and in one instance even a van, to which the husband has no claim at all (149). Presents are generally not given on marriage.

Not so long ago, in some families, the suitors were tested by the bride's family. In such tests the suitor had to prove his manliness, his courage in fighting, and occasionally even his ability in stealing a horse. Another manner of testing was to make the lover work for his bride's father. By elopement these tests could be avoided, probably because this was considered the normal way of marrying (150).

I. 2. c. Indeed, among the English Gypsies marriage is generally concluded in a very simple manner, to-day as well as in days gone by. An English Gypsy father generally says 'No' to his daughter's suitor when he is asked for his daughter and thus he forces him to elope with her.

When the couple has been away for some time it comes back to the camp and makes a visit to the girl's parents to certify to them its regret and to expiate its sin. Formerly, the couple was slightly punished or in another instance "the groom used to kneel before his father-in-law" (151). In other families the young man and his girl promise fidelity to each other and immediately after the marriage they have to leave the camp for some days, three or four at least, independent of the fact whether they have married with their parents' consent or without. Among the German Gypsies we have already remarked a similar attitude. The origin of this custom may be sought in the taboos which were observed, according to Westermarck (152), in ancient India and Medieval Europe (the Canon Law) and which were directed against the bad effects which the consummation of a marriage in the camp might have on the relatives of the couple. Although, this assumption, has yet to be proved, the fact that Gypsy brides returned home after having been married in church or in a registry office and did not mention their wedding until some days had elapsed after the event had taken place, only enhances its probability (151).

Marriage ceremonies and rites among the English Gypsies do

not amount to much. The most common ceremony is "the joining of hands in the presence of witnesses" (153), although many English Gypsies do not consider it necessary. This way of marrying, however, has been recognized as being valid by English and Scottish courts. At one time it also made part of the Scottish Gypsy marriage. — The use of blood in marriage rites does not seem to have been customary among the English Gypsies. In one case, bride and bridegroom ate a cake in which their blood had been mixed previously; a similar form is found among the Rajputs and Kewats (154). In another case the bride drank her husband's blood to strengthen the ties to each other.

Many marriage rites in use among the British Gypsies are borrowings from British folk-customs. For example, the crumbling of oatcake or the throwing of oatmeal over the bride and bridegroom may be found in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland; the breaking of a plate over the bride's head among the potters and muggers in Northumberland, or the breaking of a cup by the bride out of which she has drunk previously. According to Westermarck (155) these rites were observed "to ensure the consummation of the marriage", or also, "to protect the bride from evil influences that threatened her, or to rid her of such influences". — Further South, Mr. Thompson writes, rites were observed until recently which were intended to give protection against disease and others which were supposed to have a purifying influence (prophylactic and cathartic rites). A few examples may suffice. The carrying home of a bride to her van or tent, in one case "with torches and loud rejoicings", is mentioned twice. The 'torches and loud rejoicings' were meant to chase away the evil spirits in the air, while the bride was carried to protect her "from dangers residing in the ground". But these customs seem to be of British instead of Gypsy origin (156).

Among other Gypsies, and in former days, marriage was concluded by "jumping over a bough of a tree laid on the ground in the presence of the chiefs of the tribe, and of the bride fetching a pail of water to the tent of her husband" (157). Both customs are rare among the Gypsies in England. The fetching of a pail of water by the bride may imply, according to Mr. Crooke, "a propitiation of the water spirits (among some Southern Slavs), or it may symbolize her "wifely subjection" (158).

The jumping over a bough of flowering broom, occasionally a besom, however, seems to have been customary not so long ago in some English Gypsy families. The flowering broom points to the intention to ensure the couple's fertility, the jumping over a besom to a preservative against evil spirits. The latter rite may be found in a similar form in Germany (Hesse, Waldeck) and in Lusern (S. Tirol). — Among these Gypsies it was customary, too, to wear a rush ring which had to be replaced by a golden one bought out of common labor by man and wife to signify their unity. Of broomstick marriages some Gypsies have made a part in sham marriages which they held as a Gypsy show for the inhabitants of the region where they were staying. — There is no corroborative evidence of marriages over the tongs as is stated to have found place among Scottish Gypsies.

About a century ago, Simson tells us, the Scottish Gypsies had a strange marriage ceremony to enforce the ties between man and wife. In presence of the wedding party and before the priest, provided with a long staff and with a ram's horn hanging around his neck, bride and bridegroom consecutively passed urine in a bowl which then was given to the priest who put earth and sometimes also brandy into it and stirred the mixture. Thereupon the priest gave the bowl to the bride and the bridegroom who then joined hands over it while the priest pronounced them to be married. The mixture was put in a bottle with a capital 'M' on it and it was well preserved or buried. A similar form of marriage is unknown unless the Hottentot custom quoted by Mr. Crooke from Kolben where "the priest discharges his secretion over the bridegroom and bride successively" constitutes an analogy. But then I see no connection between Gypsies and Hottentots (159).

We have seen that a girl's chastity is well guarded and to prove this, among some Gypsies, formerly a virginity test was made. Among the Scottish Gypsies, after the marriage was concluded the bride retired with her husband and later some witnesses visited them to convince themselves of the bride's virginity, and if the examination was satisfactory the bride received a present. Among English Gypsies the wearing of a virginal girdle has been mentioned previously. Among other Gypsies the bridegroom used

to give his parents-in-law a present as a sign of his satisfaction with his wife's condition (160).

To hold a wedding feast does not seem to be common among English Gypsies as elopement is still their normal way of marrying. On the other hand, the Scottish marriage ceremony was followed by a feast, but not before the virginity test had been made (161).

Church weddings of Gypsies are already mentioned in the earlier days of the Gypsies in England. They do not seem, however, to be the rule among these Gypsies and the marriage in Gypsy fashion is considered the only true way. There are several instances where a church marriage is concluded some time after the Gypsy wedding has taken place and where the couple has already a child. While it was customary among most of the English Gypsies that the parents did not attend the church ceremony, the Scottish Gypsies used to be present at this occasion. It may be noted as a sign that the Gypsies in England slowly accept non-Gypsy ways, that to-day marriages in church or in registry office are concluded more than they used to be in former days (162).

To end this paragraph, it may be again remarked that Gypsy marriage in England consists generally of no ceremony at all and that elopement suffices to get married. The marriage rites and ceremonies described above have become obsolete for the greater part, leaving just a few of them to be observed in those families who still are proud to be Gypsies but who experience the influence of civilization as well as all others do, too.

I. 3. Monogamy is the rule among the British Gypsies. But a few cases of polygyny are still known, although polyandry is not mentioned. These polygynous marriages have been concluded successively, i. e. not at the same time. It has been noted furthermore that the co-wives are generally sisters, of whom in many cases the elder married before her younger sister. The co-wives live separately and individually apart from each other in their own tents with their own children. Cases of unstable polygyny, i. e. of a man living with two or more wives during a certain period, are also known. In this sense the cohabitation of a man

with his wife's unmarried sister has been conceived, although, on the other hand, it may be considered as an exchange of wives or as a kind of trial marriage. In this connection the existence of the sororate and levirate is again mentioned, as has already been shown above (163). — Trial marriages have not been uncommon among these Gypsies, lasting from a few days to a year. Children born out of such temporary unions remained with their mother (164).

We have already seen how much care is taken to preserve a girl's chastity. From this point of view it is easily understood that advantage taken of an unmarried girl implies the heaviest punishment. At the same time, prostitution is severely punished. In olden times, it is said, such persons were buried alive, in any case they were excluded from the tribe (165).

It must still be mentioned that when the Gypsies did not stay with their first wife they did so with their second or third wives. From this, and from the fact that temporary alliances were frequent, it may be inferred that the rate of marriages among the English Gypsies was high. Bachelors and spinsters were exceptions among this people (166).

II. 1. a. Among the English Gypsies, birth is also considered defiling and unclean. A woman who is going to give birth lives in a special tent or her husband goes away and leaves her in their tent or van. A woman who has given birth is considered as unclean and lives during a certain time in confinement in the tent (or van) in which she has given birth. The duration of her separation is generally one month.

After this period is over, in some cases, the mother would go to church to give thanks for the birth and only then would she be no longer defiled by birth. In all cases, however, the crockery she has used during her confinement and all other things which she has touched, in some instances even the tent, are destroyed. The mother is left alone during her confinement when probably only women are allowed to assist her; midwives occasionally aid her but they are considered as unclean in a very high degree. After her confinement is over, the mother, in some families, still wears gloves when preparing the meal over a certain period; in

a few families it is forbidden that she should make bread when she has a baby under a year old. The husband sees his wife again only after the period of confinement is over but he is still afraid of becoming defiled. For this reason he will not yet touch or kiss his child before another two or three months have elapsed.

In some families it was customary for a woman expecting a baby to let her hair down to render birth easier. In these same families, in connection with the original purpose, it was forbidden for women to let their hair down in presence of men as has been already mentioned above.

Babies' clothes must be washed apart and put away where the men cannot touch them out of danger for defilement in that way. Among some families it was formerly customary to keep even the baby's face covered in public until three months after birth, probably to protect the child against "the light of heaven" (167).

II. 1. b. Nothing is known about Gypsy christening ceremonies among the Gypsies we are studying here. There is only one instance, related by an old Gypsy, that points perhaps to a christening in running water (168). But on the other hand, this may have been another regulation against uncleanness. — Church baptisms of Gypsies have been recorded as far back as the 17th century and they have increased since then. Scottish Gypsies are even anxious to have their children baptized (169). In olden times, however, there seems to have been considerable opposition on the part of the parishioners to the christening of Gypsies in church (170).

II. 1. c. These Gypsies usually have a large family. Mr. Rivers shows (171) that among the Herons four children in a family were about the average and specially mentions also that this was the average number for first-cousin marriages. His investigations show further a majority of first-born males.

II. 2. a. In the family, husband and wife are relatively independent of each other. I cannot find definite evidence regarding the husband's position towards his wife. It may be

supposed that to-day he is the head of his family. Formerly, in joining his wife's family he may have come under the authority of the head of it.

II. 2. b. The wife was, and probably still is the main supporter of the family (172) and economically independent of her husband. The position of the women, however, is very much complicated by various taboos imposed on them. Mr. Thompson in his study on "The Uncleaness of Women among English Gypsies" (173) gives a full account of it. Here these rules can find only summary mention.

Among the English Gypsies, women are considered unclean and for this reason several taboos are observed. To begin with, there are regulations concerning the deportment of women. In the presence of men they are not allowed to sit with their legs straight out, they must take care that they are not heard by men speaking together about sexual matters. They must take care not to touch the men with their skirts; when preparing food they are obliged to wear a special white apron; their hawking apron is changed for another as soon as they are back in camp. The fear of defilement by contact with women's linen and skirts is so great that even the washing of women's linen with that of the men is forbidden, and a man will not touch women's clothes; women's linen is even carried in a special bag for that purpose.

A woman preparing food has to take care not to defile it with her clothes or in any other way; she is not allowed to touch red meat and it is forbidden for her to eat it during menstruation and after birth. She may not speak about menstruation and during its periods she has to take special precautions not to contaminate others. Great care has to be taken in the use of crockery. It is also possible that even without making contact with a thing women may have a defiling influence. Thus, it is forbidden for them to step over food and water sites; as regards the latter rules some similar cases in Greece and Africa find mention. Even the water out of a water-pipe may become defiled by a woman stepping over it (173).

II. 2. c. Children are not considered defiling or in danger of becoming defiled. No distinction is made between the sexes until the boys become 'men' at about 10 to 13 years old and thus become susceptible to defilement, while the girls become 'women' (and unclean) at their first menstruation (174):

The English Gypsies love their children very dearly and have many of them. Their health is often very precarious as may be seen from a Scottish report (175) where it is stated that 216 per 1000 tinkers' children under 5 years old die as compared with 99 per 1000 Scottish children of the same age.

The Gypsy children grow up unchecked and not much is done for their education. By the 'Children's Act, 1908' their parents are obliged to take care not to hinder their children when over five years of age from receiving "efficient elementary education" (176). In a report, dated 1932, it is stated that the Gypsy children show 'eagerness' to attend school and that their parents desire them to go to school, which is in marked contrast to the case of vagrants' children (177).

III. 1. Among the English Gypsies death customs are governed by fear of the spirits of the dead and designed to protect themselves against ghosts. Here again, Mr. Thompson has made such a detailed study of the subject (178) that only outlines of these practices need be considered now.

At death the tent or van in which the body lies is vacated in most cases, or the corpse is laid in a special death tent where at times it is exposed to the mourners and other visitors. Often watch is kept over the body, generally by elderly women, until it is buried, whilst lights are burned beside it. The latter custom is a well-known Christian practice.

As a rule, the body is prepared and laid out with arms straight down by non-Gypsies, sometimes in accordance with the instructions of the relatives of the deceased. In olden days, and occasionally even to-day, the body is fully clothed. The deceased's best clothes are taken for this purpose; a very sick man would often dress himself before dying in order that others need not touch him after death. There are also some instances of the body being dressed in clothes turned inside out to help the ghost in

finding his way to the world of spirits; this was a custom which seems to have its counterpart in Bulgarian mourning. A few cases where the dead wore shoes, head coverings, or was dressed in underwear only, were recorded in the last century.

In those days, the Scottish Gypsies seem to have buried corpses almost naked with blue and red ribbons placed above the heart. Such practice is unknown, however, among the English Gypsies. Some English Gypsies place a round sod or tufts of grass on the body, a custom which they probably have borrowed from English observances (Westmorland, Cumberland, Staffordshire).

For a long time past the English Gypsies have been buried in largesized coffins. Various articles are placed with the corpse in the coffin, usually clothes which are often turned inside out. Furthermore, boots, watches, jewelry in case of women, knives, walking-sticks, etc. are put occasionally in the coffin to be used by the deceased in the other world. Sometimes a hammer "to knock at the gate of heaven" and two coins of money "to pay the entrance fee" are also enclosed.

The enclosure of money has its parallel among German peasants (179). Occasionally, large sums of money were put in the coffin. There are no instances that tobacco and liquor were placed in the coffin, and only one as regards food.

Funeral processions, as a general rule, present no special characteristics. Formerly, the Gypsies used to bury their dead somewhere in the open. These burials outside the cemeteries were probably undertaken out of dislike that the corpse should be handled by a non-Gypsy and for fear of resurrectionists, but also no doubt on account of the opposition of the population to burial of Gypsies in consecrated ground. On the other hand, there is evidence that Gypsies were buried in churches and cemeteries as far back as the 18th century. In the last twenty years of that century especially an increase of Gypsy burials in churches is to be noted which may be due to a certain extent to resurrectionism, which was in those days a current evil. If burial in church was impossible the Gypsies preferred to be buried near to it in the cemetery. Again out of fear of resurrectionists the grave was protected by different devices. Thus, timber and straw or a chaff mixture were placed on the coffin in the grave

so that any violation of it could be seen at once. Fences around the grave were another form of protection, although, here some doubt exists regarding their real purpose. Some graves were even watched for several weeks after the burial.

Several Gypsies did show, and still show, a preference to be buried near a tree or a hedge but to-day they generally prefer some regular burial place of Gypsies.

Formerly, it was customary for the Gypsies to throw a coin in the grave and to spill some beer on it every time the grave was visited afterwards. No fresh flowers were or are put on the grave because they perish too quickly. Sometimes, however, a plant or a tree is planted on the grave. To-day, a grave stone is commonly erected on the grave (178, 183).

The death of a Gypsy is accompanied generally by overt signs of grief and loud lamentations. Only among the Welsh Gypsies it is stated to be a sin to weep for the dead (180). At funerals, white, red, and black mourning colours are generally worn. Until the deceased is buried most Gypsies fast, except the children, and they usually abstain from the dead's favourite food, drink, and amusement and furthermore avoid the camping-place where the death occurred. Moreover, they do not wish to speak the name of the dead and they bestow a nickname on anybody who happens to have the same name; this practice takes its origin from the fear of disturbing the slumbers of the dead or of awakening his spirit (181).

After death, all things with which the deceased has been in contact before his death are generally destroyed, again probably out of fear that his spirit may come back. It is customary moreover that the clothes of the deceased which are not enclosed in the coffin should be burnt. Domestic equipment, bedding, and especially dinner-things are sometimes destroyed. Less common, but a characteristic of certain families, was formerly the burning of the tent in which the deceased had lived. The advent of caravans has not wholly put an end to this custom, although, the burning of a van is relatively rare; it is more usual to sell the waggon to a non-Gypsy. The tools of the deceased were also occasionally destroyed. Some Gypsies have been buried, even recently, with everything they possessed. Until the beginning

of this century animals were slaughtered in a few cases on the death of their owner (182).

In some Gypsy families it is customary to retain some little private belonging (never clothes) of the deceased in his memory. Generally, however, "even to-day the thought of retaining personal effects, or anything else connected intimately and personally with a deceased relative, is abhorrent to a very large number of English Gypsies" (183).

Such goods as are left behind and which are not destroyed are transmitted to-day to the nearest relatives of the deceased both on the paternal and maternal sides. This state of affairs, however, was not always the practice. Mr. River has already noted in the earlier generations of the Herons more than one case "in which a man took the name of his mother, either as his sole name or as an alternative to that of his father" (184). Further corroboration of the original existence of matriliney among the English Gypsies is provided by the inheritance rules which have existed among them.

According to Lias Boswell cited by Mr. Thompson (185) "money and stock-in-trade were normally inherited by the eldest son, or, if no son survived, by the eldest grandson, who might be the son of a daughter. In either case he must be grown up. If there was no adult male in the direct line the inheritance devolved upon the nearest maternal kinsman of the deceased, a brother, an uncle, a nephew, or a cousin". Nothing is known regarding their precedence. Women, children, and paternal kinsmen were excluded from possible inheritance.

The inheritance was never divided but the heir was obliged to care for all persons who had been previously dependent on the deceased. Widows were always allowed to keep what was left of travelling and domestic equipment after the funeral destruction", probably because such goods were partly their own property. For a deceased woman the rules were the same, while her husband had no claim at all to her possessions. These customs, however, have been slowly forgotten and to-day a woman may inherit as well as a man.

Nothing is known about the death rate among the English

Gypsies except the very high figures already mentioned (II, 2, c) of Scottish Gypsy children.

III. 2. The dissolution of marriage is not uncommon among the English Gypsies as may be observed from the trial marriages which are occasionally concluded. Marriages which have lasted some considerable time, however, are seldom separated, or divorced, although divorce is obtained without formality. — Formerly, infidelity and adultery were not punished at all among some families but the husband, for his part, would look for another woman, while among other families heavy punishment was meted out like "retributive nakedness", "facial mutilation", and "shorn tresses" (186).

The Scottish Gypsies observed more than 150 years ago an elaborate form of divorce ceremony. On such occasion, the guilt of a woman was determined by the priest according to the movements of a horse which was brought into the room of the woman. The horse was then charged with the sins of the woman and sacrificed if the woman was innocent, but if she was guilty, it was sometimes killed as well. When the divorce was pronounced, the woman was given a token which she was obliged to carry always on her person and it was forbidden for her ever to marry again. Transgressions of these rules were punished with death. The husband, however, was allowed to take another wife (187).

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THE GYPSIES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The Gypsies in the United States of America may be divided in different groups according to the country in which they roamed before they emigrated to America. They still observe many customs of their brethren whom they left behind and often they still speak the language of that country. Another division can be made between sedentary and nomad Gypsies. The nomad Gypsies in America may be divided into the 'Macvaya' and the 'Kalderas', originating probably from Ruthenia or Transylvania. The nomad Gypsies have kept up best Gypsy customs (188).

I. 1. a. The nomad Gypsies do not mix with sedentary Gypsies: intermarriage between 'Macvaya' and 'Kalderas' Gypsies is infrequent.

Among these nomad Gypsies "relationship is traced through the male line". Furthermore, to show that these Gypsies have fatherright regulations, it may be noted that a boy's or a girl's own name is followed by his father's. No evidence for the existence of motherright can be discovered, on the contrary even patriarchy seems to be the rule among them. Moreover, marriage is patrilocal, the woman following her husband who often continues to live with his parents. Only when the bride is still a child and her husband and his family are not well known to her parents, will she stay with her parents. Rarely will the father-in-law live with his son's bride (189).

Marriage prohibitions are extended also to first-cousin marriages, but some doubt exists as to the observance of this rule as there is much inbreeding (190).

The different sedentary and semi-sedentary Gypsies in America intermarry frequently. The younger generations among them have lost much of the racial and quasi-national peculiarities of their elders. Thus, it is understandable that mixed marriages show an increasing trend, though, mixed marriage is considered a breach of the rules among the 'real' Gypsies and it is liable to punish-

ment. Young Gypsy men to-day mix freely with American girls, go dancing with them, and the Gypsy girls follow suit. — The nomad Gypsies rarely conclude mixed marriages (191).

I. 1. b. Among the nomad Gypsies the boy's parents arrange the betrothal and the marriage with the parents of the girl. They fix the bridal price and seal the bargaining in drinking some brandy which has been supplied by the boy's father. The couple remains betrothed from a week to some months (192).

No special features are noted for the betrothal of the sedentary Gypsies and it is almost certain that here little is left of Gypsy observances.

I. 2. a. Among the nomad Gypsies marriages are concluded at an early age, the boys generally being about 18 years old. Child marriages are also occasionally concluded (193). — Among the sedentary Gypsies in Pittsburgh the girls are married as soon as they leave school (194). It is probable that among this kind of Gypsies the marriage age is generally a little higher.

I. 2. b. Nothing special is noted about marriage ceremonies and customs of sedentary Gypsies. — On the other hand, the nomad Gypsies have kept up much of the old rites and ceremonial. Prof. Irving Brown writes (195) that one to three days before the marriage is concluded the bridal price (sometimes 1000 dollars) is paid to the bride's father in the presence of witnesses but not before the bride. On this occasion a bottle of brandy wrapped in a red handkerchief is circulated.

I. 2. c. Several marriages are often held in the same period. There is no real marriage ceremony at the wedding. As a general rule, cohabitation makes it valid. Sometimes, the bride is officially escorted to the tent of her father-in-law. In other instances bride and bridegroom sit opposite each other on the ground with a piece of bread and salt on their knees which they eat without using their hands in the belief that "when the bread and salt shall part, then will the couple part and hate each other" (196).

The couple is accompanied by another married couple, the best man and the matron of honour (kirvi, kirvo). At the wedding there is a dance around a pole, with a handkerchief fastened to it, lead by the bride and the best man who has previously placed on her hand a "wreath of flowers to which a veil and gold coins are sometimes attached" (197). The wedding feast lasts several days and occasions great expense; some times, a family will spend all it possesses on such a feast. For the men only, there is a banquet at which a hollowed loaf shaped like a basket is passed round in which each of those present deposits some money as a gift.

A virginity test of the bride is made by the bridegroom's mother in presence of witnesses. In former days, the results were publicly shown. To-day, however, a kerchief given to each wedding-guest, the kerchief on the pole, and another one placed on the bride's head, like the flowers, have the same symbolic meaning. If the test should have a negative result, however, the marriage is seldom broken off. The first night the boy's mother remains with the girl.

The marriage ceremony is not accompanied by the breaking of objects, a marriage promise is not given. A church ceremony is not held (195).

I. 3. Among the nomad Gypsies, polygamy is very rare, but it is not forbidden (198).

It seems that the chastity of the nomad Gypsy girls is well guarded, but this is probably the case also among sedentary Gypsies, although here, especially among the younger generations, disintegration and transition to another kind of civilization may have a demoralizing influence.

II. 1. Not much is known about birth. Birth taboos are observed among the nomad Gypsies as among the Gypsies of British origin as well.

II. 2. a. b. Among the nomad Gypsies, the men do nothing at all, the women do everything which has to be done and earn the money. Although the men are the heads of their families, the

position of the women is almost equal to theirs in family matters because they make the money. On the other hand, the women must observe strict uncleanness taboos, especially during periods of menstruation. — In each family, once a year, the head of the family celebrates his 'slava' (199).

II. 2. c. The children of the sedentary Gypsies in particular attend school and they seem even eager to learn and to make progress often taking to non-Gypsy professions (200). — Among the nomad Gypsies, education probably does not amount to much.

III. 1. The nomad Gypsies still observe death and funeral rites similar to those of the Coppersmiths with violent exhibition of grief (201).

III. 2. Among the nomad Gypsies, divorce is simple, repudiation and separation sufficing. Occasionally, the Gypsy tribunal adjudicates on the financial aspect of it, namely whether the bridal price must be returned or not. Breach of marriages by the husband preferring a non-Gypsy girl implies that he is declared as unclean and an outcast (202).

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CHAPTER II.

THE FAMILY

(Continued).

COMMENTARY.

I. 1. a. The selection of partners: Allowed and prohibited partners (kinship). Cf. pp. 8, 12—14, 27—28, 44, 49—51, 59—63, 80—81.

A comparison of all Gypsies studied in the foregoing account shows that intermarriage of nomad Gypsies of different origin is infrequent. On the contrary, group-endogamy seems to be the rule. Differences in economic status and considerations of uncleanness are often the reasons preventing such marriages while religious opinions constitute no bar. Furthermore, marriages between nomads and sedentaries are very rare, probably because the latter are despised by the former. On the other hand, sedentary Gypsies are no longer so strict and among them intermarriage with other Gypsies from the neighbourhood is not uncommon.

Although, to-day, not many remnants exist of the old marriage regulations of the Gypsies it is clear that in former days mother-right rules were observed. Thus, we see that matriliney and matrilocy were observed among the nomad Transylvanian, German*), and English Gypsies. The Gypsies of Bulgaria, and with them the Serbian Gypsies, probably observe patriliney and patrilocy if Mr. Gilliat-Smith's statement is interpreted rightly that "Gypsies, in whatever country (in this case Bulgaria) they have settled for any considerable time, so adapt themselves to the ways or customs of the class of people with whom they come

*) In the following 'Sinti' and 'Austrians' are meant by German Gypsies (Cf. p. 49).

into contact that they tend to become typical of that class, and therefore, to a certain extent, of the country of their adaption" (1).

This probability is further strengthened by the fact that both, Bulgarian and Serbian Gypsies lived a long time under Turkish domination and adopted many Turkish ways. Moreover, the Serbian Gypsies observe patriliney and patrilocy and among them, excepting the Roumanian Gypsies in Serbia, nothing is known of former motherright rules. The same applies to the nomad Gypsies in America and this points to the possibility that the Gypsies made a long stay in Serbia as they observe also other customs which have been noted as well among the Serbian Gypsies. The Coppersmith Gypsies observe both rules. Motherright may have been the rule among them at one time but a probable Serbian influence and assimilation to Western civilization have diminished its force. It is noted as a rule that when motherright is observed among the Gypsies an exception is made for headmen. These Gypsy headmen follow fatherright rules and they trace patrilineal descent while the other Gypsies subject themselves to matrilineal rules.

All Gypsies show a trend to marry relatives. This may be ascribed to the fact that they live in groups consisting of several families which marry among each other so that finally everyone is related to each other. This applies to the nomad Gypsies as well as to the sedentary Gypsies who marry those living in their neighbourhood or even in the same settlement. Furthermore, the study of the English Gypsies has shown that among them this trend is not only due to circumstances but, on the contrary, to a very definite preference to near kindred. Whether this is also true of the different Serbian Gypsies (and with them nomad American Gypsies) is not fully ascertainable. It may be assumed that there kinship is not the deciding factor but that neighbourhood has much more influence on the selection of partners.

Marriage prohibitions among the nomad Transylvanian German, and English Gypsies are limited to near of kin in the direct line: a father or a mother are not allowed to marry a daughter or a son. It seems also that marriages between brothers and sisters are generally tabooed while among the German Gypsies they are avoided. The nomad Transylvanian Gypsies even extend their

marriage taboos to marriages between uncles-nieces, and aunts-nephews. Nothing is known about marriage prohibitions among Bulgarian and Serbian Gypsies. The nomad American Gypsies also forbid marriages with first cousins. Nothing is known either about Coppersmith regulations in this field.

The rule prohibiting marriage in the own group or family and prescribing the man to join his wife's group or family at marriage has been noted among the nomad Transylvanian, German, English, and some of the Coppersmith Gypsies. In Transylvania, these groups seem to have had the outlook of clans, while in England, these groups were smaller and formed by some families which had combined and which divided themselves into moieties.

The English Gypsies do not appear to have observed this rule very strictly because in two family-groups of the three studied ortho-cousin marriages of sisters' children have been predominant. This follows from the fact that sisters always belong to the same family (-group) if marriage is matrilocal and that their children belong to it also and not to that of their father's. This inobservance of the original rule may be due to the exceptional right already mentioned of headmen who are not obliged to follow their wives, although decay of Gypsy civilization and growing assimilation to their social environment cannot be underestimated in their dissolving influence on the Gypsies. — The Bulgarian, Serbian, the remaining Coppersmith, and the nomad American Gypsies do not follow this rule. Among them the wife joins her husband and nothing is known about any restrictions other than those already mentioned above.

In a general way, no objections are made to remarriage after divorce. Only the Transylvanian Gypsies are not allowed to remarry before their former partner has died while among the Scotch Gypsies a woman is not allowed to marry again after her divorce. This rule of the Transylvanian Gypsies, however, may be due to Roman Catholic influence. — Remarriage of widows and widowers, on the other hand, was formerly subject to contradictory rules. The Transylvanian Gypsy widower was not allowed to marry again in his wife's clan after her death and from this it follows that sororate was impossible here. The German Gypsies further considered sororate indecent. The English Gypsies,

however, used after the death of a wife to permit marriage with her sister, or in the reverse case, the widow could marry a brother of her husband (levirate). The existence of a seniority rule in connection with these customs is possible and probable.

Although not much is known about names the few instances mentioned give a further indication of the former existence of matriliney. Among the Transylvanian Gypsies the man changed his name of the clan in which he was born to the name of the clan into which he entered at marriage (2). The German and the English Gypsy children probably took their mother's name at one time.

In olden days, mixed marriages were considered as tabooed. Yet they have been noted at all times. To-day, the trend to mixed marriages seems to be increasing among all Gypsies, especially among those who have become sedentary.

Following the Gypsies back to their Indian ancestors, some similarities may be found. Thus, the rule that a man is not allowed to marry a woman belonging to his own group has been found among the Bhantus or Sansis (Indian nomads) and some other peoples. They are divided in two exogamous moieties where a man belonging to one moiety must take his partner in the other moiety. By this rule, it becomes impossible for ortho-cousin marriages to be concluded the while cross-cousin marriages are allowed. — Precise knowledge is lacking about marriages of near of kin which are prohibited to-day in India. Mr. Thompson asserts, however, that "the Indian ancestors of our present English and German Gypsy stocks definitely favoured alliances between close blood-relatives, more especially first-cousins, and that besides kinship in the direct line they recognized no bar to marital unions unless it was common motherhood" (3). — Matrilineal descent and matrilocal marriage have also been noted among Indian peoples, for example the Santals of Bengal. The Santals provide more interesting analogies with the Gypsies because they observe the levirate and sororate as has been found among the English Gypsies. At the same time, they apply the seniority rule which is generally observed in India and which renders the existence of such a rule among the Gypsies more probable. It has been noted, among the Santals, moreover, that a man cohabits with

his wife's younger sister and that a man permits his younger brother to share his wife. The latter custom has also been found among some English Gypsies.

It is possible that the Gypsies, on their way from India to Europe, already shed their objections to ortho-cousin marriages in Persia and in Arab countries. In Persia, marriages of near kindred were very common while the Arabs favoured, and still favour paternal first-cousin marriages. These peoples who counted patrilineal descent made no objections to ortho-cousin marriages while marriages to relatives in the direct line were forbidden (4).

The nomad Gypsies of Transylvania, Germany, and England still display the remnants of old customs which they have brought with them from India and the countries through which they passed on their way to Europe. The existences of motherright rules has been mentioned several times. The deciding factors for the determination of motherright and for the selection of partners are matrilineal descent and kinship as it has been found among these nomad Gypsies. Furthermore, mention may be made of the absence of relationship between the father and his children while matrilineal marriage is no characteristic for motherright society.

Levirate (and sororate) provides another indication to the pre-existence of motherright institutions among these nomad Gypsies as it takes its origin from motherright conceptions. Even cross-cousin marriages, with a majority of unions to a mother's brother's sister, may point to motherright society already under fatherright influence, and they may have been furthered by the division in exogamous moieties as has been found also to be the case in India. At all events, the Gypsies have forgotten their taboo, if it ever existed, on ortho-cousin marriages under semitic influence and they must have modified their views regarding matrilocy, for both cannot be observed at the same time (5).

The nomad Gypsies of America do not present the same features as the nomad Gypsies of Europe but they conform with Serbian Gypsy customs. The Copper Smith Gypsies did show some characteristics of motherright institutions but their decadence was evident as fatherright regulations were observed among a group of them.

The sedentary Gypsies in Europe have taken to many European customs in this field since their arrival in the South Eastern

parts. These sedentary Gypsies have given up their original observances or have mixed them with those of the country in which they roamed and settled down. Thus, the rules regarding the selection of partners have become relaxed and this is determined in the first place by the social and economic status of the parties for while relationship motives still exist they have lost in importance. It is probable that marriage partners are still often related to each other but that is not surprising in cases where they marry with those Gypsies who live in their own neighbourhood. Marriage is patrilocal, except in some cases of child marriage, and descent and kinship are counted in the paternal line.

The change from motherright to fatherright institutions is due to several causes. The Gypsies in Serbia who are all sedentaries nowadays may have changed even in their nomad days under the influence of Turkish rule in the Balkan countries. Other Gypsies have also abandoned part of their customs under the same influence to which they were exposed during the period of their sojourn in the Near East or in Europe.

A further reason is that the Gypsies are assimilated much more easily by the people among whom they live as soon as they have settled down. The settling down of the Gypsies makes relations between Gypsies and non-Gypsies more stable. On his part, the Gypsy wants to raise his social position while the non-Gypsy regards him as at least belonging to a section of society albeit generally the lowest and no longer as an enemy of it. And by this change in social status, attitudes are revised and mixed marriages are concluded and are accepted as comprehensible.

Results (Summary).

1. Comparison with customs of different Indian peoples strengthens the probability that the Gypsies originally borrowed several of their customs from these peoples and that they altered them in the course of time. One may take into account here: division in exogamous moieties, matrilineal descent and kinship, marriage to near kindred (first cousins),

matrilocal marriages, levirate and sororate, and a seniority rule.

2. The pre-existence of motherright institutions among nomad Gypsies has been proved in the observance of matrilineal descent and kinship, and by the fact that the children belong to the mother's group. Levirate and sororate, and cross-cousin marriage provide other indications in this direction.
3. Ortho-cousin marriage was originally forbidden but obtained recognition under semitic influence which was especially favourable to the marriage of near kindred. This shows that motherright institutions were already in decay under the influence of semitic fatherright society.
4. Exception to the motherright rules in use among the Gypsies was made for headmen who accorded themselves fatherright rules and who counted patrilinear descent.
5. To-day, remnants of motherright institutions are found among the nomad Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans, Germany, and England.

The sedentary Gypsies show none of these characteristics.

6. Names of nomad Gypsies point to the existence of matriliney among them but they do not give clear evidence thereof.
7. The sedentary Gypsies recognize kinship and descent through the paternal line or through both the maternal and paternal lines.
8. The nomad Gypsies especially show a prevalence to group endogamy.
9. All Gypsies tend to marry relatives. This is expressed among the nomad Gypsies in a clear preference for relatives and a vague division in exogamous moieties.
The sedentary Gypsies generally marry Gypsies of the neighbourhood and acquaintances so that relationship is frequently very probable.
10. Among the nomad Gypsies marriage of relatives in the direct line is tabooed and that of partners of a common mother is shunned. The nomad American Gypsies also prohibit first-cousin marriage.
11. The nomad Gypsies observe matrilocal marriage whilst an exception is made for headmen. In this case, the children

- belong to the mother's group. This rule is not applied strictly any longer under the influence of the rule of exception and decay of Gypsy civilization. The sedentary Gypsies and the nomad American Gypsies practise patrilocal marriage.
12. Levirate and sororate were still observed among the English nomad Gypsies until the last century.
 13. All Gypsies remarry frequently after divorce. Sometimes, women are not allowed to remarry, however, in such case.
 14. A distinction can be made between nomad and sedentary Gypsies. The nomad Gypsies still observe some original Gypsy customs while the sedentary Gypsies have forgotten almost all of them. The sedentary Gypsies show a high degree of assimilation to their social environment.
 15. The sedentary Gypsies show an increasing trend to mixed marriages. The nomad Gypsies conclude fewer mixed marriages, although here too, an increase is noticeable.
 16. The nomad Gypsies furthermore show a trend to abandon their original observances. This becomes very apparent in the case of the nomad Coppersmith and the nomad American Gypsies. At the same time, it shows that nomad Gypsies are also liable to exterior influences, although to a lesser degree than their sedentary brethren.

1. 1. b. The selection of partners: Courtship attitudes. Cf. pp. 8, 14—15, 28—30, 44—45, 51, 63—64, 81.

Courtship and betrothal allow some parallels to be drawn between the nomad Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies. Among these Gypsies, the suitor does the courting himself and he arranges with the girl their betrothal. After such arrangement they generally seek the consent of their parents to the marriage. Betrothal is often concluded by the exchange of small gifts.

The girls, as a rule, have recourse to love signs during the time of courtship, and naturally also when there still is no suitor at hand. The English Gypsy suitor occasionally subjects his girls to a constancy test which is executed by one of his friends. Courting among these Gypsies had formerly to be done in the open, clandestine meetings being forbidden. It seems, however, that this rule is no longer very strictly observed.

The Transylvanian and the Bulgarian Gypsy suitor resort to proxy if they want to engage themselves. They send one or more friends to the girl to learn their opinion of her before they meet the girl personally.

The Bulgarian, and especially the (sedentary) Serbian, the Coppersmith, and the nomad American Gypsies present striking similarities in the observance of courtship and betrothal customs. Among these Gypsies, the father of the boy arranges with the girl's father the bridal price and when this is settled the betrothal is concluded. After the 'business' has been fixed, they generally drink and feast. Occasionally, the opinion of the boy and that of the girl is asked, at other times the whole family is consulted. Gifts are generally exchanged. In Serbia, differences between Moslem and Orthodox Gypsies are slight. An Orthodox young Gypsy man in one instance mentioned has to ask the girl and afterwards her parents for permission to marry her, but in another case the young man plays no part at all while his father or grandfather decides what girl he has to take.

There is a Mohammedan example moreover where a girl selects her husband and asks his father to buy her. It sometimes happens among the Mohammedan Gypsies that the father of a boy even arranges his betrothal and marriage while he still is a small child or before his birth. As a rule, these Gypsies do not know courtship, and betrothal consists solely in the settlement of the bridal price. — The Bulgarian Gypsies, in some cases observe courtship previous to ceremonial betrothal which counts as half a wedding and which they have copied from the Bulgarian peasants (Again, if Mr. Gilliat-Smith's statement is considered valid, the Gypsies are often the prototypes of the people among whom they live) (6).

About the sedentary Gypsies of all countries which have been studied, excepting Serbia, nothing is known about the observance of courtship and betrothal customs. It seems consequently very probable that they have adopted local non-Gypsy customs.

Formal betrothal is rare among the nomad Gypsies. This may be regarded as another indication of the pre-existence of mother-right institutions among the Gypsies because these societies possess either none or only undeveloped betrothal and marriage ceremonies.

On the other hand, in fatherright societies betrothal and marriage occupy an important place. That consent to the marriage has to be given before it is concluded is another rule observed in fatherright societies; this rule, however, is also occasionally met with in motherright societies.

The purchase of wives, which is found especially among the Moslem Serbian Gypsies, points to the domination of patriarchy. The Orthodox Gypsies in Serbia also buy their wives, but here this has a more ceremonial significance, seeing that the bridal price is very small in contrast to the Mohammendan Gypsies.

In this group of Gypsies, the Bulgarian, the Serbian, the Coppersmith, and the nomad American Gypsies, the father decides on the marriage with or without consulting his child; another sign that patriarchy is the rule among these Gypsies. The early betrothals and subsequent marriage promises which have been noted originate in the wish to extend the payment of the bridal price over a longer period of time so that it may be paid more easily; another reason for such early betrothals, including prenatal ones, is the shortage of marriageable girls (7).

Courtship and betrothal observance have been treated at length in the foregoing accounts. Comparison with Indian and European customs is omitted here, not only because it would exceed the bounds of this survey but also because the practices observed by the Gypsies may be found, in a general way, in those countries where they live. Furthermore, it is almost impossible to say whether the Gypsies brought some original customs with them from countries which they visited previously, or if such customs have come to them, in other ways.

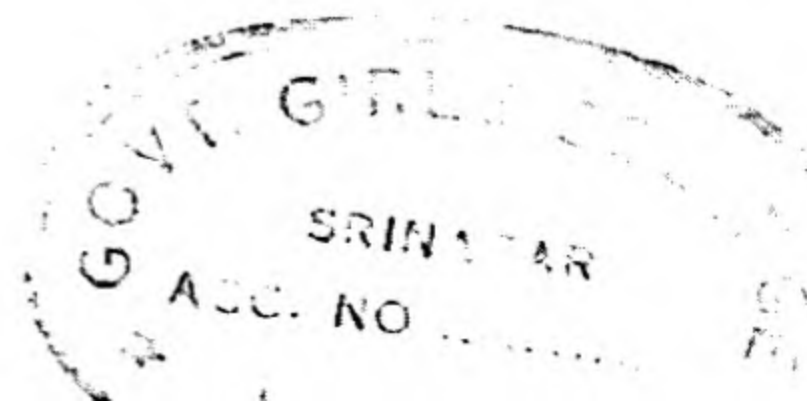
Results (Summary).

1. A difference between two groups of Gypsies is to be noted: Among the nomad Gypsies of Transylvania, Germany, and England, courting is done by the suitor himself, while among the Bulgarian (in some cases), the Serbian, the Coppersmith, and the nomad American Gypsies it generally does not exist in this form. On the other hand, the first mentioned group does not observe, as a rule, formal betrothal, while the Gypsies belonging to the second group do.

2. Among the Gypsies of the second group, the father generally arranges the betrothal (and the marriage); occasionally, even before the birth of his child. The wife must be bought and with the settlement of the bridal price, after which a feast is held, the betrothal becomes valid. The Orthodox and Mohammedan Gypsies manifest only slight differences in this connexion.
3. The absence of formal betrothal among the first group of Gypsies (the nomad Gypsies) is a fresh indication of the pre-existence of motherright institutions among them. The observance of formal betrothal points to fatherright society.
4. Among the Gypsies of the second group, the purchase of wives and the decision of the father, sometimes of the family, regarding choice of marriage partners indicates the existence of a firmly established patriarchy. The prior consent of the father or of the parents which is sought is not exclusive to fatherright as it is also to be found in motherright societies.
5. Bulgarian and Transylvanian Gypsies make use of proxy before courtship or betrothal.
6. The early betrothal which has been noted occasionally is mainly due to exterior circumstances such as the lack of marriageable girls or the desire for payment of the bridal price pro rata.
7. The nomad Gypsies show signs of decay in the observance of their customs concerning betrothal and courtship.
8. Nothing is known about courtship and betrothal customs among the sedentary Gypsies. It may be assumed, however, that they have adopted non-Gypsy customs.
9. Courtship and betrothal customs as observed by the Gypsies prove, in a general way, that they have adopted many customs and observances from those peoples among which they live to-day slowly forgetting the customs they observed previously in another country.

I. 2. a. Modes of contracting marriage: Age. Cf. pp. 8—9, 15, 30—31, 45, 51, 64, 81.

The marriage age of the Gypsies is, as a general rule, very low. Nomad Gypsies especially marry very young as may be



seen in Germany and among the Coppersmiths and the elder English Gypsies (12 to 16 years). The influence of modern civilization, however, is to be seen already in the cases of the English and nomad American Gypsies, where the marriage age has risen (18 to 22 years).

Among the Serbian Gypsies, who are sedentary, the marriage age is slightly higher than among the nomad Gypsies (12 to 20 years). It is observed here that marriage in the country is concluded earlier than in the towns, and that musicians marry at an earlier age than factory workers. It is noted furthermore that the Mohammedan Gypsies marry a few years later than their Orthodox brethren. This may be ascribed to the fact that the Mohammedan Gypsies buy their wives and have to pay a much higher bridal price than the others. — Child marriages have been observed among the Serbian Gypsies and the nomad American Gypsies as well. — Marriage of a boy to a girl about 10 years older has been noted among Serbian Gypsies. It has also been found among Bulgarians and other Balkan peoples (8). Marriages of old men or women with young girls or boys have been noted, moreover, among the Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans.

The marriage age of the sedentary Gypsies lies a little bit higher than that of the nomad Gypsies. This may result from the more constant influence of their social environment.

Marriage at a young age is generally observed among primitive and peoples not yet fully civilized. Western civilization tends to raise the marriage age. At the same time, its influence is much smaller in Eastern Europe so that it may be assumed that the difference between the marriage age of the Gypsies and that of the non-Gypsies is not so great in those countries. On the other hand, in Western Europe and America the marriage age of the Gypsies has risen, too.

The marriage age of the Gypsies is generally below that of the non-Gypsies. The differences which have been seen between the marriage ages in the country and in towns are usually also found among other peoples.

The marriage of a boy to a much older woman follows from the patriarchal idea that a woman is supposed to work for her husband although other more sentimental ideas may also influence

this kind of union. Economic reasons also account for the marriages between old and young as mentioned among the Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans.

Results (Summary).

1. The marriage age of the Gypsies is low (12—22 years).
2. Nomad Gypsies marry few years earlier than sedentary Gypsies, although, precise information is not available.
3. The marriage age of the Gypsies in Eastern Europe is below that of the Gypsies in Western Europe and in America.
4. It may be assumed that Gypsies generally marry younger than non-Gypsies.
5. The marriage age of the Gypsies has risen under the influence of their social environment.
6. The Serbian Gypsies marry younger in the country than in the towns. Mohammedan Gypsies marry later than Orthodox Gypsies because the bridal price is higher.
7. Child marriages have been noted among the Serbian and the nomad American Gypsies.
8. Great differences in marriage age between man (boy) and wife have been noted in Serbia. This kind of marriage may be ascribed to patriarchal influence.
9. The difference between the marriage age of man and wife as observed in the South Eastern Balkans is mainly due to economic circumstances.

I. 2. b. c. Modes of contracting marriage: Actual mode of contracting marriage (b) and marriage rites and sanction of marriage (c). Cf. pp. 9, 15—17, 31—35, 45, 51—52, 64—68, 81—82.

In the following observations, the main features of the conclusion of Gypsy marriage are duly summarized.

Before a marriage can be concluded, among the Bulgarian Gypsies, some Gypsy tribes in the South Eastern Balkans, the

Serbian, the Coppersmith, and the nomad American Gypsies a bridal price must be paid. The payment of a bridal price is known to the nomad and sedentary Gypsies. At times, part of the bridal price is paid after the marriage has been concluded but if this sum is not paid within a certain time the wife must return to her parents or the couple will elope. Among the Mohammedan Gypsies, the bridal price tends to be higher than among the Christian Gypsies. The Mohammedan 'Korano Rom' in Serbia even deposit a sum which will be given to the wife in case of divorce. The bridal price among the Coppersmith Gypsies and the nomad American Gypsies is very high. The bridal price or part of it is often refunded when the marriage is cancelled (9).

Sometimes, a dowry or a trousseau, or gifts collected among the attendants of the marriage are given to the bride or to the couple. Nothing is known whether, in this group of Gypsies, these presents to the wife remain her personal property and if she has the right to take them with her in case of divorce or death.

The purchase of a wife by a bridal price or in another way is not observed among the Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies. Nothing definite is known either about a dowry or other gifts to the bride or the couple. It is only certain that in case of divorce or of death the wife keeps her own property which she brought with her at marriage.

The consent of the father or of the parents to marriage is almost always asked. Among some Gypsies in the South Eastern Balkans even the consent of the chief of the tribe must be obtained. If no permission to marry is given the couple elopes. Elopement seems to be almost a normal form of marriage among the Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans, Germany, and especially among the English Gypsies. Usually, the couple returns to the camp after a short time. The marriage will be considered to be valid after the couple has been punished slightly by its parents. Elopement may also have other reason. In the South Eastern Balkans it seems that the Gypsy chief has a kind of a priority right on a girl and therefore the parents will occasionally allow their daughter to elope with her lover for fear that the chief may appropriate her. It may point on the other hand to the original existence of a privilege of age as it reveals itself in the

'jus primae noctis'. In the group of Gypsies where the wife is purchased elopement may be obliged by economic reasons. If the bridal price is too high the couple often elopes; on this, the marriage will be accepted while a much smaller sum has to be paid as bridal price.

Before the marriage is concluded the bridegroom must subject himself sometimes to a test or a trial. This is the case among the German Gypsies where the bridegroom after consent to the marriage has been given is obliged to work for his father-in-law for a period of one or two years. Only after this period has elapsed and no objections have been brought against him is the suitor officially married. — Among some English Gypsies, a bridegroom has to prove his courage in a test before the marriage can be concluded. — Another curious preliminary custom to the conclusion of marriage was found among the Scotch Gypsies where the father of the bridegroom and the bride's mother were obliged to sleep together for some nights immediately previous to the wedding.

The conclusion of marriage among the nomad Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans (Transylvania), Germany, and England is considered valid only when performed in Gypsy fashion.

In the South Eastern Balkans marriage is generally concluded by the chief of the tribe, or by old men, or by the parents, who are sometimes assisted by old women. It appears that several local differences are to be noted here. In any case it is impossible to submit clear proofs. In Germany, marriage is concluded officially by the chief of the tribe after the suitor's time of trial with his father-in-law is over. In all these cases it seems to me quite probable that these Gypsies (like all Gypsies) originally had no official marriage ceremony at all but the fact of cohabitation was all that was required to get married. This is very evident in England where the normal form of Gypsy marriage is elopement, although, it may be noted that in England several official marriage ceremonies are also observed. The same applies to the other group of Gypsies.

Among the few nomad Gypsies of Serbia and the Coppersmith Gypsies marriage is considered valid with the payment of the bridal price. It seems then that all the ceremonies observed to-day

among the Bulgarian, the Serbian, the Coppersmith, and the nomad American Gypsies have been added to the payment of the bridal price and that they must be borrowings from the customs of the people among whom once they dwelled or with whom they now live.

Investigation into the observance of these customs proves this assumption to be true in a general way.

A test to establish the virginity of the bride is generally made after the marriage has been concluded. This custom is observed among all Gypsies, even among many sedentaries, except in Germany. At least nothing is recorded about the observance of this custom in Germany. In England, it is no longer observed although it was known at one time. After the test has been made the proofs are shown. This open exposal of the proofs tends to disappear and to give place to the exhibition of symbolic evidence.

The nomad German and English Gypsies show again a striking similarity in the observance of formal elopement. Among them, after the marriage has been concluded bride and bridegroom are obliged to leave the camp for some days because the consummation of the marriage would endanger the others.

The difference in the position of the wife in a Gypsy marriage among the nomad Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans, Germany, and England and her position among the Bulgarian, Serbian, Coppersmith, and nomad American Gypsies can be seen at once on the conclusion of the marriage. In the first group, the husband joins his wife and her family, in the second group the bride is officially escorted to the dwelling of her husband to whom she is wholly subject.

Church marriages have always been known among the Gypsies, although, they have not been generally observed. In bye gone days, these marriages were relatively rare, because on one hand, the Gypsies did not believe in the sacredness of such a union, and on the other hand, because the non-Gypsies and the ecclesiastical authorities were opposed to it. Prohibition of church marriages for Gypsies is easy to comprehend when one bears in mind that formerly many Gypsies only concluded church marriage, besides the Gypsy marriage in order to obtain the advantages of it in the form of gifts and official papers.

Church marriage only, however, was not considered as a valid marriage; Gypsy fashion being the only way to get married in the eyes of Gypsy law. To-day, the Gypsies marry more frequently in church or in a registry office. In Serbia, they are even obliged to marry this way, but here too, an extra Gypsy fashioned marriage is often concluded, especially if the partners are still too young to be married in a legal way. Among some Gypsies, Gypsy marriage is still considered more binding than church marriage. An example of the tenacity with which the Gypsies cling to Gypsy ways is provided by the nomad American Gypsies who while living under very strong exterior influence only know of marriage in Gypsy fashion.

Sedentary Gypsies adopt, however, more marriage customs from the non-Gypsies among whom they live. Only, they exceed the non-Gypsies in feasting and disorderly conduct on such occasions; but "this is real Gypsy" some Gypsy musicians in Budapest once told me, although I doubt it and believe that they only followed their bent. Church or civil marriages are the rule among the sedentary Gypsies, though, some old customs may still be observed to strengthen the union.

Some remarkable Indian parallels have been discovered to Gypsy marriage customs. The author's knowledge of Indian folk-custom, however, is too slight to permit him to submit corroborative evidence. On the other hand, in a way folk-lore is not the object of this study. Nevertheless it may be briefly noted that among the Doms it is customary for formal betrothal to be sealed with liquor and the presentation of a handkerchief (Nats) as has been observed among Serbian and nomad American Gypsies. The dance around a pole, the wedding crown, the eating of bread and salt are similarly to be found among nomad American Gypsies and have also been noted among Doms (Kanjars).

Even the physical inspection of the girl and the boy is observed among these Doms. The eating of a cake in which the blood of the bridegroom and the bride has been mingled previously has no European parallel in its complete form but is found among the Rajputs and the Kewats, which would point to the Indian origin of this custom. Elopement seems to be frequent among the Korwas where marriage rules are very loose. Among the

Doms (Bajgi, Sansis), a bridal price is paid and partly rendered if the marriage is dissolved. — These comparisons do not constitute definite evidence but it may be considered therefore that the Gypsies still observe some original Indian customs as in use among different tribes in India (10).

Generally speaking, the marriage customs and ceremonies as observed by the Gypsies may be found in the countries in which they were used to roam or in which they have settled down. In this field, the Gypsies seem to be very keen to adopt new customs, apt to forget old ones and to adapt themselves to the ways of the country in which they live.

The absence or the underdevelopment of marriage ceremonies as seen among the Transylvanian, the German, and the English Gypsies points also to the pre-existence of motherright among these Gypsies because this is, according to Mr. Thurnwald, another of its characteristics (11). — The form of marriage observed among the German Gypsies may be classed as a trial marriage and as a marriage by service as well. In the first case, it must be considered as a kind of a test of the suitor made by the bride's family as some English Gypsies inquire into the courage and handiness of a suitor. In the second case, however, economic functions play a part. For the future suitor's father-in-law it is an easy way to secure labor and money; on the other hand, it can be considered as payment of a bridal price in the form of labor. Marriage by service corroborates the existence of matrilocal marriage among these Gypsies.

Although, the purchase of a wife is also found in motherright societies, it is only openly encountered in the second group of Gypsies (Bulgarian, Serbian, Coppersmith, nomad American Gypsies), and some Gypsies in the South Eastern Balkans, which manifest few or no remnants of such society. The payment of a bridal price, especially when a large sum is involved, as is the case with the Mohammedan Serbian Gypsies and their Coppersmith and nomad American brethren, points to the existence of a highly developed patriarchy among them. A dowry and the occasional exchange of presents between the families of the couple often alleviate a heavy bridal price; they must not, however, be confused with it (12).

Results (Summary).

1. Indian parallels of different origin concerning some marriage customs, e. g. elopement and the payment of a bridal price, exist.
2. The Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies as a general rule do not observe the payment of a bridal price.
3. Among the Bulgarian Gypsies, some Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans, the Serbian, Coppersmith, and the nomad American Gypsies the purchase of a bride is customary. This custom is observed among both nomad and sedentary Gypsies. The bridal price is higher among the Mohammedan than among the Orthodox Gypsies; in the first case the wife is really bought, in the second case this act has rather a symbolic meaning. Also among the Coppersmith and the nomad American Gypsies, the bridal price is very high.
4. The payment of a bridal price points to a much developed patriarchy.
5. Nothing is known about the presentation of a dowry to the bride among the Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies. It is certain that the wife keeps as personal property all those things (outfit, tent or van) which she brings with her at marriage. Among the other group of Gypsies, occasionally a dowry and a trousseau are given. But knowledge is lacking as regards the question of rightful ownership.
6. Consent to marriage is generally asked and eventually given by the father, the parents, or the chief.
7. Before marriage can be concluded, among some Gypsies a test of the suitor is made. The German Gypsies subject a suitor to a kind of trial marriage or marriage by service which bears out the existence of matrilocal marriage. The English Gypsies sometimes make a test of the manliness and the handiness of the suitor.
8. Elopement among the Gypsies can be caused by the refusal of consent to marriage by an excessive bridal price which will be reduced but not annulled by such action, or by fear of the desire of a chief to appropriate the girl (in the South Eastern Balkans). The couple is punished slightly for elopement but their marriage is considered to be valid.

9. It seems probable that among the Gypsies no marriage ceremonies were observed originally and the fact of cohabitation was all that was required to be considered as married.
10. In England, elopement is the normal way of marriage among the Gypsies.
11. Among the Coppersmith and the nomad American Gypsies, marriage is concluded with the payment of the bridal price.
12. The absence or undeveloped form of marriage ceremonies indicate the pre-existence of motherright institutions.
13. Formerly, and nowadays in many cases, only marriage concluded in Gypsy fashion is considered valid.
14. The difference of the position of woman in marriage between the group of Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies and the other group of Gypsies becomes clear when it is noted that in the first case the man joins his wife and in the second case the bride is escorted to the bridegroom and undergoes rites which indicate her subjection to her husband.
15. Virginity tests after the nuptial night are generally known among all Gypsies, except those in Germany. In England, this custom is no longer observed, while among the nomad American Gypsies actual proofs are no longer displayed.
16. Among the German and English Gypsies, the consummation of a marriage is considered dangerous to the relatives of the newly married couple. For this reason, it is obliged to leave camp for some days, after the conclusion of the marriage.
17. Among the Gypsies, church marriages have always been known. Formerly, they were rather rare which was due in the first place to the fact that the Gypsies did not want to marry in this way, and in the second place, when they desired to do so they often met with opposition from the clerical authorities and parishioners. To-day, church marriages (and marriages in a registry office) have become much more common and this again expresses the wish of the Gypsies to conform themselves to their environment. In Serbia, the Gypsies are obliged to marry legally in church or in a registry office. — Among many Gypsies, marriage in Gypsy fashion is also concluded before or after the non-Gypsy marriage

because the marriage would not be considered valid otherwise by the Gypsies.

18. The marriage customs and ceremonies as observed by the Gypsies are nearly all found in the countries in which they live or have previously lived. They cannot be regarded therefore as original Gypsy practices. It must be remarked furthermore that in this field of marriage customs the Gypsies show themselves very sensitive to non-Gypsy ways. This is most noticeable among the sedentary Gypsies who here are Gypsies no more.

1.3. Forms of marriage. Cf. pp. 10, 17—18, 35, 45, 52, 68—69, 82.

Among the Gypsies, monogamy seems to be the rule. But polygamy is also known as cases of polygyny are found among most Gypsies although in this connexion nothing is recorded about the Transylvanian, the Coppersmith, and the German Gypsies. Polygyny is known among the Mohammedan Bulgarian and Serbian Gypsies but it is rather rare which follows from the fact that these Gypsies are very poor and cannot afford to pay for a second or a third wife. If a Serbian Gypsy wants to have a second wife his first wife is allowed to divorce him if she does not agree with it.

The English Gypsies have some polygynous marriages to be noted as well. The marriages are concluded successively and in most cases the co-wives are sisters, the elder having married before the younger sister. Among the nomad American Gypsies, polygyny is not prohibited. Of a taboo on polygyny among the Transylvanian, the Coppersmith, and the German Gypsies nothing is known and it seems very improbable. Of course, polygamy is forbidden to the Christian Gypsies, for example in Bulgaria and in Serbia. But this need not be the case among the other Gypsies who generally do not observe any religion at all.

Some remarkable forms of marriage have been noted. Absence of marriage regulations seems to prevail in Transylvania which lends force to the assumption that cohabitation suffices to be considered as married. — The nomad Serbian Gypsies and the Coppersmiths both witness cases of cohabitation of a father with

his daughter-in-law with the object to prevent her from running away from her much younger child-husband. — In England, a man lives occasionally for a certain time together with his wife's unmarried sister, a form of procedure which may be regarded as unstable polygyny and as a kind of trial marriage which may lead to an exchange of wives. — Interchange of wives between near relatives has also been noted among Serbian Gypsies. — Some of the Serbian Gypsies even sell their women as an economic commodity to the highest bidder.

The chastity of the girl is, as a general rule, well guarded and indecent attacks are severely punished. The importance of pre-nuptial purity may also be concluded from the general observance of virginity tests among the Gypsies. It is comprehensible that with such a state of affairs prostitution is severely punished and that promiscuity is sometimes forbidden (Germany) or unknown. Yet, illegitimate children are not regarded as a disgrace and they are allowed to stay with their mother. — Gypsy prostitutes are found among those Gypsy women who have been excluded from their group. Moreover, they are more easily found among sedentary Gypsies. The stronger disorganising influence of environment on the sedentary Gypsies entails that among them chastity is preserved with much more difficulty than when they are living in small nomad groups.

Instances of unmarried Gypsies are almost unknown.

Polygamy has been noted among many peoples. The causes of it may be the wish to have many children, to possess a greater standing among others, and to acquire more wealth with feminine labor. From this point of view, the economic factor may be the most important to the Gypsies as among them a man does not work and the woman is obliged to care for everything. It must be remarked that polygamy is found in mother-right and in father-right societies, it has nothing to do with either, and it is not excluded by matrilocal marriage (13).

The marriage of a young boy with a much older girl and the cohabitation of her with her father-in-law until the boy has grown up may not be due only to a scarcity of women and the wish to prevent her from running away but in its form it much resembles a successive marriage where the elder introduces the

younger to sexual life. On the other hand, this relation of the father to his daughter-in-law is a sign of his patriarchal position in the family, and it may be connected with the privilege of age already mentioned held by headmen ('*jus primae noctis*'). The same relationship has been found in Russia and among the Ossetes and it is possible that the nomad Serbian and the Coppersmith Gypsies adopted this custom during a sojourn in Russia, although the scarcity of women among them may be the decisive factor in this form of marriage.

The cohabitation of a man with his wife's sister during a certain time is found among archaic peoples and it may be considered as a kind of periodical co-marriage or trial marriage which may lead to polygyny or to change of women, as has been seen, for example, in Serbia among near relatives, or in England, although, in this case, the sister of the wife usually stays only until she herself marries.

The absence of marriage regulations might indicate promiscuity but one should be careful in considering this probability because original motherright societies know only of few marriage regulations.

The severe watch on a girl's chastity and the taboos in general which are imposed on pre-nuptial intercourse must have arisen only after the Gypsies left India because, as a rule, chastity and prohibition of pre-nuptial intercourse are not observed among motherright peoples.

Comparison with Indian peoples which show parallels to the Gypsies does not furnish corroborative evidence because among them the standards of morals are very different according to the peoples concerned. Thus, it becomes very probable that the Gypsies adopted these customs only on their arrival in Europe and this assumption is strengthened by the fact that the Gypsies in Asia Minor are still very loose in their morals (14).

Results (Summary).

1. Among the Gypsies few unmarried men and women are to be found.
2. Among the Gypsies monogamy is the rule.

3. Polygyny is found among Bulgarian, South Eastern Balkan, Serbian, and English Gypsies. The absence of cases of polygyny among the other unmentioned Gypsies does not prove that they do not know of it. The nomad American Gypsies, for example, do not prohibit it.
4. Polygyny exists in fatherright and motherright societies as well and it does not exclude matrilineal marriage.
5. As cause of polygyny among the Gypsies, the increase of wealth by more working women may be mentioned. Other reasons are: love of children, and elevation of social standing among the others.
6. Polygynous marriages are concluded successively among the Gypsies.
7. In Serbia, the first wife is allowed a divorce if her husband takes a second wife.
8. Polygyny is yet relatively rare among the Gypsies because they are generally too poor to buy a second wife. Christian Gypsies do not know polygyny because their religion prohibits it.
9. The absence of marriage regulations among some Transylvanian Gypsies strengthens the assumption that among the Gypsies cohabitation in itself sufficed originally to be considered married. Furthermore, it does not point necessarily to promiscuity because this absence of marriage regulations is often found in motherright societies and thus it may provide another proof of the pre-existence of such society among the Gypsies.
10. Among Serbian and Coppersmith Gypsies, marriages between boys and girls much older have been noted and which probably have been induced by scarcity of women. In these cases, the father of the boy cohabited with his daughter-in-law. Such unequal marriages have been noted in Russia, Transcaucasia, Lithuania, and old Prussia, and they seem to be a kind of successive marriages. This assumption is strengthened by the previous cohabitation of the father with the girl which also points to a patriarchal position of the father. The latter custom has also been noted in Russia and among the Ossetes.

It thus becomes very probable that the Gypsies adopted this custom during a stay in Russia.

11. In England, a Gypsy sometimes cohabits with his wife's unmarried sister. This form of unstable polygyny has been observed among archaic peoples. It must be considered as a kind of periodical co-marriage or trial marriage which can lead to stable polygyny or exchange of wives.
12. Interchange of wives between near relatives has been noted among Serbian Gypsies.
13. Among the Gypsies, the chastity of the girls is well guarded and pre-nuptial intercourse is prohibited in principle, although, illegitimate children are not regarded as a disgrace to a woman. This standard of morals is not in accordance with the usual low morality in motherright societies and among the Gypsies in Asia. From this it may be inferred that the Gypsies have undergone European influence in their observance of moral standards.
14. Usually prostitution is severely punished. Gypsy prostitutes are mostly found among women who are excluded from the group, or among sedentary Gypsy women.
15. Sedentary life has a relaxing influence on the prescriptions regarding the chastity of girls and their morality. This is caused by the constant pressure of social environment on these Gypsies which they cannot elude like the nomad Gypsies.

II. 1. a. b. c. Birth: Taboos (a), Ceremonies (b), Birth rate (c).
Cf. pp. 10, 18—21, 35—37, 45—46, 52—53, 69—70, 82—83.

An outline of Gypsy observances at birth shows some parallels among all Gypsies. The Gypsies in the South Eastern Balkans, in Serbia and in England, and the Coppermiths use various charms before and during birth to obtain children, to render birth easier or to protect the babies against evil external and mysterious influences. The absence of such charms among the other Gypsies is improbable and it should not be concluded from the fact that nothing is recorded about them that they do not exist there.

Birth itself is considered unclean among all Gypsies. Thus, as a rule, birth in the habitation of a family is forbidden and makes

all things unclean so that they have to be destroyed, even the tent or the van itself. A woman who has to give birth leaves her domicile and goes somewhere into the open, or in a farmhouse; at times, a special tent is erected for the occasion (England). Sometimes, a midwife is called to assist the mother but this only happens rarely because such women are considered to be unclean to a very high degree. It seems that the Serbian Gypsies do not observe very strict rules in this field but it is very probable that fragments of the observations of their brethren are known among them. — As a rule, the sedentary Gypsies are no longer strict about birth because among them such occasions have been noted to take place at home, although, the woman was still considered unclean (South Eastern Balkans), or it may be seen from the fact that usually a midwife is called in to assist at birth (Serbia). It thus appears that they have taken much to local customs.

After birth, the mother lives in confinement for some weeks, eventually until the child is christened. At this time she is considered unclean and no man, not even her husband, is allowed to see her. During this period she is attended by other women and after it has terminated all things she has touched and which have thereby become defiled are destroyed. The Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies observe this birth regulation almost in the same way. That the Coppersmith Gypsies also apply it follows from the fact that they observe the same prescriptions, with the exception that among them the husband is allowed to see his wife. Even the Serbian Gypsies must have known of it, because among them the woman has to be cared for in a special way during a certain period when she is obliged to observe particular rules.

Nothing is known about special Gypsy christening ceremonies. It is possible that the washing of the baby in cold or running water constitutes a Gypsy feature in itself or has been known among different Gypsies; but it should be also noted that this custom, and the other customs observed at birth, are well known as well in Europe and in India. All these customs are observed to protect the child from evil influences or to purify it or to guarantee it a good and happy life. It may be assumed that the

Gypsies originally had few or no christening ceremonies and that they coincided with the naming of the child.

Little is known about children's names and the occasion when they receive them and no data are available which would serve to elucidate these matters.

The only definite particulars known about the names of the Gypsies is that they possess several of them and that they use special names in the presence of non-Gypsies to prevent identification afterwards by their real name.

The Gypsies do not consider religious baptism very important. Yet many and very old instances of it have been noted. In olden days, church baptism brought great advantages to them, for example, presents of the non-Gypsy godparents and a baptismal certificate. These advantages were considered so important that Gypsy children were often baptized several times in churches of different denominations. On the other hand, some Gypsies believed that church baptism would bring the child good fortune. — Formerly, in some places, the parishioners or the ecclesiastical authorities were opposed to the baptism of Gypsies. In Serbia, it makes no difference whether a Gypsy is baptized or circumcized or not because the Gypsies are considered to belong to a lower class of people whose position cannot be altered in any way.

Definite information about the sedentary Gypsies is not recorded. The Serbian Gypsies, who are all sedentary, appear to have adopted many local customs but they do not attach much value to religious christening or circumcision.

Not much has been found about the birth rate of the Gypsies. It may be assumed however that they have many children of whom almost half die at an early age because they are not cared for; this applies particularly to the nomad Gypsies, whose life is rough in the extreme.

It has been already noted that most of the natal customs are also found in India and in Europe. For example, the rule that the mother does not give birth at her habitation but elsewhere, often at a place especially designed for this purpose is met with among primitive tribes in Southern India as well as among Finnish and Caucasian peoples (15). Christening customs have been largely copied by the Gypsies from other peoples among

whom they dwelled, and it becomes practically impossible therefore to determine where and from whom they have taken them. It would moreover exceed the limitations of this study.

The position of the father confronted with the phenomenon of birth is a defensive one. He is afraid of everything connected with it, and he dreads defilement by the mother and her child. Only after a certain time when the greatest danger of pollution has passed is he prepared to approach them but even then he will be careful not to touch them until all dangers have become remote. One should note that, except among the Serbian Gypsies, the father is not interested primarily in his child or the mother but in the protection of himself against pollution by birth. — A close relationship seems to exist between the uncleanness of birth and that of menstruating women from which it may be concluded that the Gypsies are much afraid of birth and menstruation blood and that here lies the cause of many taboos imposed on women. The seriousness of defilement by birth may be seen from the fact that a father who does not observe these taboos becomes unclean himself and will be excluded from the tribe for such inobservance; the same holds good for women but with much more potency because they are the sources of pollution.

Results (Summary).

1. Charms of a helpful and protective nature are in use among the South Eastern Balkan, Serbian, Coppersmith, and English Gypsies and probably also among all other Gypsies. The use of charms has also been met with among the peoples in whose midst the Gypsies dwell or have lived previously.
2. Birth is considered unclean among all Gypsies.
3. The source of pollution at birth and menstruation, from which the general uncleanness of the women may be traced, seems to lie in the blood that is spent at such occasion.
4. The position of the father at birth is a defensive one out of fear that he will become polluted by birth.
5. Among the South Eastern Balkan, the German, the Coppersmith, and the English Gypsies and formerly probably among

all Gypsies, birth at their own habitation is forbidden out of fear of defilement. In case of such eventuality, all things which have been touched by the mother must be destroyed. Sometimes, a special tent or place is designed for birth giving. This practice is also found among primitive South Indian tribes and in Finland and Caucasia.

6. Among the group of Gypsies mentioned above, the mother is obliged to live in confinement for some weeks. During this period she may not be visited by men and she is attended by women. The Coppersmith Gypsies permit the husband to visit his wife on such occasions. Reasons exist for belief that this custom, at one time, was observed by all Gypsies.
7. A midwife is rarely called in for assistance. Such a person is considered moreover very unclean.
8. The Serbian Gypsies (sedentaries) are no longer so strict in the observance of original Gypsy practices at birth and they have adopted many local customs. This applies also, in a general way, to all sedentary Gypsies.
9. Original Gypsy christening ceremonies are not known and it is possible that they were combined with the naming of the child. Most of the Gypsy christening customs are observed in Europe and in India from which it may be deduced that they are borrowings and imitations, especially, because the Gypsies observe many different customs according to the country where they live.
10. Religious christening and church baptism have been recorded since early times (17th century). Formerly, only few Gypsies believed that church baptism brought luck to their child whilst most of them only subjected their children to it for the benefits obtained thereby consisting of presents and baptismal papers. Nowadays, the Gypsies are rather indifferent to church baptism and they prefer to christen their children in their own way.
11. Although, not much is known about the birth rate, it may be assumed that among the Gypsies many children are born but that about half of them die while still very young.

II. 2. a. b. Relations between the members of the immediate family: Position of husband (father) (a), and position of wife (mother) (b). Cf. pp. 10, 21—22, 37, 46, 53—54, 70—71, 82—83.

Nowadays, among all Gypsies, the father is considered to be the head of the family. As head of the family he decides the division of labor, he receives the money his wife brings home, he consents to and concludes marriage, and among the nomads he directs the wanderings of his family.

In the case of those Gypsies where remnants of motherright institutions have been found and where also matrilocal marriage has been noted, some restrictions to the power of the father must be taken into account. Among the Transylvanian, the German, and English Gypsies a man marries into his wife's group while his wife holds a quasi-independent position because she remains owner of her own property. Furthermore, although it is nowhere clearly stated, it seems quite probable that the man on entering his wife's group subjects himself to the authority of the head of it.

This assumption is strengthened by the fact that among the German Gypsies a husband becomes free to work and to earn for himself when his period of probation with his father-in-law is ended but that, at the same time, he will always be obliged to help him if he is requested to do so (16). Moreover, in the South Eastern Balkans and Germany, the Gypsies seem to attach much value to the opinion of the eldest woman.

The position of the economic independence of the wife towards her husband is further strengthened by the fact that among all Gypsies, with the exception of the Coppersmiths, she does all the labor while her husband only works when he is obliged to it vastly preferring to do nothing at all. The wife not only does the housework but she also goes begging for food and money, tells fortunes and sells her wares to the peasants. A man is often judged by the diligence of his wife at begging and earning money.

On the other hand, a husband expects his wife to bear him children and, at the same time, to observe uncleanness taboos. Indeed, the position of woman in Gypsy society is very complicated because she must observe many rules in order not to defile the men. It seems that the centre of pollution is the woman,

that menstruation blood is very dangerous to men and that even mention of sexual matters implicates danger. For this reason, a Gypsy woman is subjected to severe taboos concerning the preparation of food, the touching of things, be it either with her hands or with her skirts. More taboos concern the stepping over water and sitting-places or over persons and the talk of women in the presence of men. Unobservance of these taboos is generally severely punished. Sedentary Gypsies are no longer so strict in this respect.

I am not sufficiently informed about the position of women in primitive Indian societies to be able to make a suitable comparison. In modern Europe, a woman lives in a family where the father is the head of it or where she shares his functions equally with him.

A determination of the position of a Gypsy woman in Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsy society shows that she maintains some independence towards her husband. It must be stressed that she owns the outfit, that she is the chief earner in the family, that it is the mother (and her girls) who goes around to beg for food and money.

It is from this point of view of economic independence of the woman that the admitted pre-existence of motherright institutions and of matrilocal marriage among the Gypsies can be explained. It is evident that a woman has economic value in such circumstances and it is clear that her family would wish to keep her in its midst. Thus, in this case, her husband must enter her family and, at the same time, becomes dependent on it. Moreover, a woman becomes of primal importance to her family which automatically increases her status. Although, a woman in such Gypsy societies has no direct political influence and patriarchy is the rule, it is possible that at one time even matriarchy used to exist among them. This is demonstrated by the influence the eldest Gypsy woman sometimes exercises in Gypsy society. As a rule, however, women are excluded from political and social discussions which are then exclusively the province of the men.

The position of a Gypsy woman in (Bulgaria), Serbia and among the American nomads is quite different. Here she follows her husband who has really purchased her as an economic commo-

dity to work for him, to bear him children, and to care for his food. The Coppersmith Gypsies constitute an exception in this respect.

As a whole, the functions in a Gypsy family are so divided that the woman procures everything required for living while the man occasionally exercises a profession but is generally too lazy to do any serious work. Patriarchy is the rule among the Gypsies, although its character differs. In the first group (Transylvanian, German, English Gypsies) patriarchy combined with motherright institutions is originally found, in the second group absolute patriarchy with fatherright. Furthermore, the position of woman in the first group is better than in the second whilst in both groups she is subjected to strict uncleanness taboos.

That sedentary Gypsies are much influenced by social environment in this field, too, is manifested in Serbia where they have taken to the patriarchal way of life in course of living in that country. Another example is provided by the sedentary Gypsy musicians in Budapest who have been partly assimilated by the local population with whom they have mixed much. Here, the men are the chief earners whilst the women stay at home and occupy themselves as ordinary house-wives and have abandoned Gypsy ways. They live very poorly and they say that it is the Gypsy mode of life. This poverty, however, is caused by the laziness of the Gypsy musician and that is the only real Gypsy characteristic about it. Of course, the sedentary Gypsies are much more subject to external economic influences than the nomads because they cannot change places so easily.

Results (Summary).

1. All Gypsies observe the authority of the father even in matrilineal society.
2. The Gypsy wife does all the work and provides food, money, etc. by begging, telling fortunes or selling wares. Among the Coppersmith Gypsies she is not expected to earn the family living.
3. A nomad Gypsy woman is obliged to observe strict uncleanness taboos because she is considered a centre of pollution, espec-

- ially in the case of menstruation. Unobservance of these taboos is severely punished. Among the sedentary Gypsies, these taboos are either disregarded or only partly observed.
4. Generally, Gypsy women are excluded from political discussion and they have no voice in tribal or group affairs.
 5. A Gypsy woman is relatively independent because she earns the livelihood of the family.
 6. Among the Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies the following restrictions to the power of the father have been encountered:
 - a). The husband probably comes under the authority of the head of his wife's family (Germany);
 - b). The eldest woman of a group, sometimes, exercises great influence on social life (Transylvania, Germany);
 - c). The wife keeps all she brings with her at (matrilocal) marriage as her personal property (all cases);
 - d). The wife is independent of her husband because she is the chief supporter of the family (all cases).
 7. The relatively independent position of a Gypsy woman as chief supporter of the family and the important factor she is in it, may serve as an explanation of the pre-existence of motherright institutions and matrilocal marriage among this group of Gypsies. The mentioned influence of old women may point to a vestige of matriarchy.
 8. Among the Bulgarian, Serbian, some Coppersmith, and nomad American Gypsies absolute patriarchy is found.
 9. Sedentary Gypsies are largely assimilated by their social environment. They desire to live as non-Gypsies and on this account they are also influenced by economic conditions. The men are the chief wage-earners while the women do the housekeeping.

II. 2. c. Relations between the members of the immediate family:
Position of children. Cf. pp. 10, 22—23, 37—39, 46, 54, 72, 83.

Youth of the Gypsies is in accordance with the situation as observed in primitive societies. All Gypsies love children very dearly and they want to have many of them. Nomad Gypsy

children grow up without much care being bestowed on them. As soon as they can walk their parents leave them to their elder brothers and sisters. The Gypsy children copy everything they see their parents do and they hear all that is said by the grown-ups. No wonder therefore that they are great beggars and thieves and that life has no secrets for them.

Sometimes, the children will be employed by their parents on scouting errands. Only very rarely will a Gypsy father teach his son a trade or send him to school. The hostility of schoolmasters and non-Gypsy parents to Gypsy children visiting public schools has caused Gypsy schools to be founded in those countries where the Gypsies roamed. But Gypsy children only seldom attended them because their parents were always on their way. To-day, in some countries (f. ex. England) laws exist obliging even vagrants' children to be given elementary education, and it is in this way that many of the modern Gypsies can read and write. School, however, is only attended at irregular intervals. Coppersmith Gypsy children are given an education: they are taught their father's trade and some of them attend school.

It has been noted in Scotland that many Gypsy children die very young. Gypsy children are not considered unclean or endangered by defilement until they are grown-up: For boys at the age of 10—13 years, for the girls at their first menstruation (England).

Sedentary Gypsies take much more care that their children receive an education. Reports on the attendance of Gypsy children at school are all favourable to them and a good indirect influence on their parents is remarked. In America, the young sedentary Gypsies are very eager to get on and they even have associated themselves so much with their new country that they abandon Gypsy trades for non-Gypsy occupations.

Among the sedentary Serbian Gypsies, the same wish for assimilation, but combined with specific Gypsy ways may be found. On the one hand, the parents dress their children like the non-Gypsies and they want them to acquire non-Gypsy ways, but without much success, however, because the parents themselves continue to live according to their own ways. On the other hand, a Gypsy girl will be taken by her mother on begging tours to

learn the job as soon as she is strong enough while a Gypsy boy, is occasionally taught a trade by his father or else does nothing at all. The same trend to assimilation combined with Gypsy changes may be found in the observance of the feast of 'Bibi' and the many 'slavas' met with among these Gypsies.

Results (Summary).

1. All Gypsies do love their children very dearly.
2. A great percentage of Gypsy children die at a very young age (Scotland), but those who survive have robust health.
3. In those Gypsy societies where uncleanness taboos prevail children are not considered unclean or susceptible to defilement until they are grown-up: i. e. when are the boys 10—13 years of age, the girls at their first menstruation.
4. No initiation ceremonies have been noted.
5. All children of nomad Gypsies grow up unchecked and without care being taken of them. They easily imitate and adopt the habits of their elders without being instructed. Thus, they are mature at a very early age. They are also importunate beggars.
6. Occasionally, a Gypsy father teaches his sons his trade, if he has any. Sometimes, Gypsy children are used on scouting jobs by their parents.
7. Nomad Gypsy children attend school irregularly or not at all. Formerly, schoolmasters and non-Gypsy parents were opposed to Gypsy children attending school and for that reason special Gypsy schools were founded. To-day, in some countries, the law forces Gypsy (vagrant) parents to take care that their children receive elementary education.
8. Coppersmith Gypsy children learn the trade of their father and some of them are sent to school regularly.
9. Sedentary Gypsies show much more eagerness to receive an education. In America, many educated sedentary Gypsies of the present generation are known who have abandoned Gypsy for non-Gypsy trades.
10. The Serbian (sedentary) Gypsies display a mixture of Serbian and Gypsy characteristics. Gypsy parents want to behave

their children in non-Gypsy ways, but they do not set an example. Serbian Gypsy girls are taken on begging tours at an early age to learn the job; the boys, sometimes, learn their father's trade from him. The Serbian Gypsies celebrate the feast of 'Bibi' in honour of their children; this feast is a Gypsy interpretation of popular Serbian superstition. The same accounts for the Gypsy interpretation of the 'slavas' or family feasts.

III. 1. Dissolution of the family: Death. Cf. pp. 10, 23—24, 39—41, 47—48, 54—56, 72—76, 83.

The customs observed by the Gypsies at death and at burial are nearly all borrowings and imitations from the customs of the peoples among whom they live and have lived. Most of these customs have been studied summarily in the reports on the Gypsies of the various countries so that it will only be shown here how far these customs are known among the different Gypsies.

After death, all Gypsies show great fear of the spirits of the deceased which might harm them if they did not take measures to protect themselves from them and to soothe the soul of the deceased. For example, the fear of disturbing the rest of the dead and of awakening his spirit is at the root of the taboo on the name of the dead (Transylvanian, Serbian, German, English Gypsies). Most Gypsies, except in Serbia, believe also that death is contagious and for this reason special care is taken that they do not become defiled by touching the body or the things which were connected with the death. From this point of view may be explained the destruction of property or of all the things the deceased has been in contact with before his death. This custom has only been noted among the Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies, and thus provides another remarkable likeness between these Gypsies.

The deceased is often dressed in his best clothes before the burial (Coppersmith, German, English, (nomad American) Gypsies) and interred, in a very large coffin. Many Gypsies want their dead to be buried in an open coffin (Transylvanian, Coppersmith, (nomad American) Gypsies) or even uncoffined (Serbian Gypsies)

because they believe that the spirit will only find rest after the corpse has decomposed. Most Gypsies, except the Serbian Gypsies in whose case no evidence has been found, put various things in the coffin such as money, food, instruments, etc. which the dead might need in the other world. For the same reason, articles were placed in the grave (Serbian, Coppersmith, (Nomad American) Gypsies) and beer or water or other liquid spilled on the grave to drive the ghosts away or to honour the dead (Coppersmith, German, English, (nomad American) Gypsies).

Not very much is known about Gypsy funerals. From all sides, relatives and friends gather to attend it. In some cases, no women are allowed to take part which may point to the primary position occupied by men among these Gypsies (Serbian, Coppersmith, (nomad American) Gypsies).

The Gypsies formerly buried their dead in secret places which often were not even marked so that nobody could disturb them. Nevertheless burials in consecrated ground, in churches or in cemeteries have already been noted at very early times, although, opposition by the church authorities and non-Gypsies was great. It seems that the Gypsies in England by such burial wanted to protect the grave against violation of it by the resurrectionists.

Not much is definitively known about mourning. Generally, a death is accompanied by loud lamentations and heart-breaking signs of grief and it is only among the German Gypsies that a widow will not display any signs of grief, while among the Welsh Gypsies nobody is permitted to show it. The deceased is honoured and his soul is soothed by memorial celebrations and by fasting (Serbian, German, English Gypsies), and by visits to his grave (Serbian, German Gypsies), while sometimes after the burial a funeral feast is held to keep the ghosts away (Transylvanian, German Gypsies).

Almost nothing is known about the death rate of the Gypsies. It has been noted that many children die at a very early age, and the statement made by Liebich (on German Gypsies) that the death rate of the Gypsies is lower than that of the non-Gypsies is not proved by corroborative evidence. Burial alive or the killing of cripple as mentioned in Germany and in Norway (17) has never been proved.

Inheritance rules have been found among German and English Gypsies. It appears that a man had no claim on his wife's property as has been already mentioned at another occasion (I. 1. a.). While among the German Gypsies women and children could also inherit, they were excluded from inheritance among the English Gypsies where a widow was only allowed to keep her housekeeping outfit and, of course, her own property. The inheritance went in the first place to the male descendants in the direct line, and where there were none, to the nearest maternal kinsman (English Gypsies). Among the German Gypsies, the new head of the family, provided that he was not the heir of the deceased, would inherit all instruments or tools the latter had used for his trade. The duty of the heir (of the head of a family) to care for the family of the deceased has been noted in both cases and may implicate levirate if he is a brother.

It seems then that among the English Gypsies inheritance of property was matrilineal when descendants in the direct line were missing. Functions, however, devolved on the men, but it is impossible to say whether the heir was, in case of death of a head of a family, his brother or his wife's brother or the head of her family or yet another person. The fact that women were excluded from inheritance may be another indication of the existence of patriarchy among these Gypsies. But to give a clear determination of inheritance rules among these Gypsies is impossible on the few facts known.

Nowadays, heirs can be maternal and or paternal relatives as well.

Comparison of death and funeral customs as observed by the Gypsies with those of Indian and European peoples shows many parallels. Such a study of these customs, however, is beyond the scope of this review and can not be attempted.

Nothing is known about the death customs of sedentary Gypsies. It may be supposed, however, that these Gypsies observe non-Gypsy local practices at such occasion. For example, christened Serbian Gypsies are to-day allowed to be buried in Serbian cemeteries, a thing which would have been impossible at the beginning of this century. This points to an advanced state of assimilation of these Gypsies by their non-Gypsy environment because in some way they are already accepted by it.

Results (Summary).

1. Almost all customs observed by the Gypsies at death and at funerals are borrowings from peoples among whom they live or have lived.
2. All Gypsies, after death, fear the spirits of the dead. For this reason, many customs are observed to assist the dead on the way to another world and to protect themselves against visitations of these spirits.
3. All Gypsies, except the Serbian Gypsies(?), believe that death is contagious and for this reason they protect themselves against defilement by death.
4. The destruction of property, which constitutes another remarkable parallel between the Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies, may be explained by the great danger of defilement which seems to be attributed to death among this group of Gypsies.
5. Among the Coppersmith, (nomad American), German, and English Gypsies the body is clad in garments before burial. The Transylvanian and Coppersmith, (nomad American) Gypsies bury their dead in a open coffin, some Serbian Gypsies even inter their dead uncoffined. All Gypsies, except the Transylvanian Gypsies(?), put various objects in the coffin or in the grave for the deceased to use in his supernatural life and, occasionally, water or beer is spilled on the grave.
6. Serbian and Coppersmith, (nomad American) Gypsies do not allow their women to attend at funerals. This is another indication of the inferior position of woman among these Gypsies.
7. Formerly, many Gypsies were buried in the open at unknown places. Burials in consecrated ground, in churches or in cemeteries, were already noted in the 18th. century, although, often the church authorities and parishioners were opposed to it.
8. At death, all Gypsies (except Welsh Gypsies) give way to loud lamentations and violent expressions of grief.
9. Memorial celebrations and visits to the grave have been noted among the Serbian, German, and English Gypsies. As

- this is a custom generally known in the Balkans it is very probable that Gypsies not mentioned observe it, too.
10. To-day, inheritance is in the direct paternal and maternal line. The inheritance rules which were observed at a time among the German and English Gypsies do not provide clear evidence. It seems that inheritance was in the direct line or matrilineal in absence of direct relatives. Furthermore, patriarchal influences are to be noted.
 11. Probably, sedentary Gypsies follow local customs at death and at funeral.
 12. Nothing definite is known about the death rate among Gypsies.

III. 2. Dissolution of the family: Divorce. Cf. pp. 10, 24, 41, 48, 56, 76, 83.

Among the Gypsies, divorce is not uncommon, especially, in the earlier years of marriage when it is still childless. Only among the South Eastern Balkan Gypsies, divorce seems to be relatively rare; the same goes for the Mohammedan Gypsies in Serbia because the bridal price paid has been too high to warrant a divorce.

The dissolution of marriage is easily obtained, especially in the case that the formal marriage has not yet been concluded (trial marriages among German and English Gypsies). Among the Transylvanian, German, and Scotch Gypsies divorce is pronounced by the chief of the group; in Serbia, a priest pronounces the divorce. But very often the separation or the simple repudiation of the wife is enough; this is true probably for all Gypsies although, evidence has been found only for the Serbian, German, English, and nomad American Gypsies.

Among the Orthodox Serbian Gypsies, a divorced wife takes her daughters with her back to her own family, while she leaves her sons to the care of her ex-husband. In the case of those Gypsies where the pre-existence of motherright institutions and matrilineal marriage has been noted (Transylvanian, German, English Gypsies) the children probably stay with the mother while the father leaves his family.

Again, a great difference between this group of Gypsies and

the other Gypsies may be noticed, the latter definitely giving lesser importance to women as compared to men. — Those Gypsies who have paid a real bridal price often have a special sum paid at the conclusion of marriage for the case of divorce (Serbia), or occasionally a Gypsy tribunal has to decide what must be done with a bridal price at divorce (nomad American Gypsies).

As reasons for divorce are accounted childless marriage, a lazy wife, bad treatment of the wife, on one occasion carelessness shown for children, furthermore default in payment of the bridal price among those Gypsies where purchase of a bride is customary (Bulgaria). Infidelity and adultery are often accepted as reasons for divorce among the Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies, although, in as many cases they are not. Most of the Gypsies belonging to this group know of heavy punishments in this connection such as facial mutilation and outcasting while, at the same time, frequently nothing is done about it. It appears then that the gravity of the false action determines the attitude to be taken towards it.

This assumption is strengthened by the custom observed among the old Scotch Gypsies by which the guilt of a woman was determined according to the movements of a horse. — Breach of marriage by a man taking to a non-Gypsy girl was heavily punished among the nomad American Gypsies which proves their will to self-preservation and their wish to retain a close community. As a rule, however, it may be supposed that such infringement by the man is no longer punished.

That adultery is not considered a very severe transgression to Gypsy law may be deduced from the rather loose relations between the sexes among some Gypsies and it may be connected with motherright influences. But patriarchal conditions make adultery on the side of a woman a serious crime whilst, at the same time, chastity is held in high honour. This state of affairs is linked up with the fact that a woman is the property of a man and with his polygamous privileges (f. ex. Serbian, Coppersmith, and nomad American Gypsies). But the same patriarchal conditions make divorce disadvantageous because a husband not only loses the bridal price or part of it but also the labor of his wife, while he may even offend his parents-in-law.

It is easy to understand and generally noted that a childless marriage is dissolved more freely than a one with children because in the first case no strong connecting links exists between the spouses whilst in the second case the common love and interest for the children keeps them together.

The simple way of divorce, as found among all Gypsies, by repudiation of the wife is another indication of the existence of patriarchy among them and of the privileged position of a man who has even the right to have more than one wife and who generally faces no strong objection in case of transgressing the ruling laws (18).

Nothing is known about divorce of sedentary Gypsies, except among the Serbian Gypsies already mentioned who all are also sedentaries.

Results (Summary).

1. Divorce is not uncommon among the Gypsies except among the South Eastern Balkan and the Serbian Gypsies.
2. Divorce is easily obtained.
3. Probably among all Gypsies, separation or repudiation of a wife is enough to be considered as divorced. Cases are also known where divorce is pronounced by the chief of the group (Transylvanian, German, and Scotch Gypsies), or by a priest (Serbian Gypsies). It is not known whether or not the wife can repudiate.
4. Among those Gypsies where remnants of motherright institutions and matrilineal marriage have been found (Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies) the husband leaves his wife's family; among the other Gypsies the wife leaves her husband's family at divorce. Again, a considerable difference between the first group of Gypsies and the others is noted, and the greater importance given by the latter to the man.
5. In the first group of Gypsies the children stay with the mother. Among the others, the children probably stay with their father, although, in Serbia, girls go with their mother while their brothers stay with their father at the divorce of their parents.

6. Among those Gypsies where a bridal price is paid (Bulgarian, Serbian, Coppersmith, nomad American Gypsies), occasionally, part of it or the whole sum is refunded. Sometimes, a Gypsy tribunal decides this question. In Serbia, some Gypsies deposit at marriage a sum to be paid to the wife in case of divorce.
 7. Causes of divorce among the Gypsies are: childless marriage, laziness of the wife, bad treatment of the wife, neglect of children, non-payment of bridal price, and adultery.
 8. A childless marriage is dissolved more easily than that of a family with children. Loss of the bridal price and of the labor of a wife, or even the fear to offend the parents-in-law constitute other objections against divorce.
 9. Among some of the Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies adultery by women is considered a crime whilst among others it is almost ignored. The indifference to adultery follows from the loose relations between the sexes existing among some of these Gypsies and it is another indication of motherright influences. The serious objection against adultery found among the other Gypsies points to a developed state of patriarchy and may be followed from the right of property a man has in his wife and his polygamous privileges. The seriousness of the case of adultery may occasion divorce and punishment (cf. Scotch Gypsies).
 10. Adultery by men is probably not objected to. Only the nomad American Gypsies punish a man severely in cases where he prefers a non-Gypsy to a Gypsy woman.
 11. Repudiation of a woman as observed among many Gypsies and the disregard of adultery by men are further signs of developed patriarchy among them.
 12. Nothing is known about divorce and adultery of sedentary Gypsies (other than among the sedentary Serbian Gypsies).
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CONCLUSION.

This study of the Gypsy family ends here. It has been seen that the Gypsies show many similarities and analogies to primitive Indian peoples but none of them is decisive enough to allow the origin of the Gypsies to be definitely determined. It seems very probable that the Gypsies originated from different Indian peoples. An elaborate comparative study of Gypsies and Indian peoples may establish more complete evidence.

The nomad Transylvanian, German, and English Gypsies appear to be the most 'real' and original Gypsies. As opposed to all other Gypsies they can be classed, originally, as motherright societies with authority of the father. Nothing can be said about the authority of an uncle (wife's brother) which is often quite developed in motherright societies. But motherright influences tend to disappear wholly in the course of time under European ascendancy. All other Gypsies represent more or less complete fatherright societies with patriarchy. These Gypsies have lived so, it seems, for a long time under Turkish domination and were influenced by it. The difference between these two groups of Gypsies are clear and decisive on all points of view from which the Gypsy family has been studied.

Sedentary Gypsies easily abandon their original nomad Gypsy ways and they try to adapt themselves fully to local non-Gypsy life. Assimilation is hastened by the disregard in which they are held by their nomad brethren and for whom they have an equal lack of esteem. Mixed marriages make separation from Gypsy ways almost complete.

It has been seen that all Gypsies, the sedentaries naturally in more rapid tempo, adopt very easily the customs of the surrounding people among whom they dwell. In the Balkans especially this is very noticeable. This state of affairs is explained not only by the long stay they have made already in that part of Europe but also by the fact that the Balkan peoples are much simpler and more primitive than in Western Europe. On this account it is easy to understand that the Balkan Gypsies have adopted

many customs and superstitions known among these peoples. On the other hand, the Gypsies in Western Europe and the nomads in America show a greater divergence from their environment. They keep up customs which have been noted in those countries or in the Balkans and which have been forgotten or unobserved for a long time among the inhabitants of Western Europe.

Life in the Balkans allows the Gypsies much more scope to live according to their sentiments and wishes and to remain in community with each other than life in Western Europe and America. Modern Western civilization has no place for Gypsies and primitive peoples. Disintegration of the Gypsies is the consequence thereof. Nomad Gypsies have been able to withdraw themselves to a slight extent from this influence and in America they even defend themselves against it. But it may be assumed that sooner or later they will have entirely abandoned their own ways. The same influence is, of course, much stronger among the sedentary Gypsies. Sedentary Gypsies in Western Europe and America have become normal citizens albeit of different origin who perhaps in the opinion of some, occasionally, still show queer ways.

In the Balkans, however, where the influence of modern civilization is much smaller, the sedentary Gypsies have been able to observe their own ways to a much higher degree although at the same time they do mix them with non-Gypsy habits. The Gypsy musicians have been almost completely assimilated through their environment.

That knowledge about the Gypsy family is not complete may be seen from the gaps in the foregoing accounts on the subject. In some cases, no corroborative evidence can be obtained. Nevertheless one may be content with the profound studies which have been made about the Gypsy family by different authors and which give close and often intimate information concerning it.

Notes.

- (1). Bernard Gilliat-Smith: *Some Notes on Bulgarian Marriage Customs*, JGLS3, VII, pp. 136—137.
- (2). Dr. H. von Wlislocki: *Vom Wandernden Zigeunervolke*, (Hamburg, 1890), p. 65.

- (3). T. W. Thompson: *Gypsy Marriage in England*, JGLS3, V, p. 24.
 - (4). Dr. Georg Buschan: *Die Völker Asiens, Australiens, und der Südseeinseln*, (Globus Verlag, Berlin), p. 531;
 T. W. Thompson: *Gypsy Marriage in England*, JGLS3, V, pp. 33—35;
 id.: *Illustrations of English Gypsy Law*, JGLS3, IX, pp. 169—170;
 H. L. Williams: *The Criminal and Wandering Tribes of India*, JGLSn, VI, pp. 40—51.
 - (5). Hans F. K. Günther: *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, (J. F. Lehmanns Verslag, München/Berlin, 1940), pp. 42—44;
 Dr. J. H. Ronhaar: *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*, (J. B. Wolters, Groningen/The Hague — David Nutt (A. G. Berry), London — 1931), pp. 61, 78, 310;
 Richard Thurnwald: *Die menschliche Gesellschaft*, Band II (Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Familie, Verwandtschaft und Bündnen), (W. de Gruyter & Co, Berlin/Leipzig, 1932), pp. 144—147, 152—153.
 - (6). Gilliat-Smith: *Op. cit.*, JGLS3, VII, pp. 139—140.
 - (7). Günther: *Op. cit.*, pp. 61, 63, 91;
 Thurnwald: *Op. cit.*, Band II, pp. 65, 69, 93.
 - (8). Dr. Georg Buschan: *Die Völker Europas*, (Globus Verlag, Berlin), p. 109.
 - (9). Cf. also Irving Brown: *Roms are Dôms*, JGLS3, VII, pp. 173—174.
 - (10). I. Brown: *Op. cit.*, JGLS3, VII, pp. 173—175;
 Thompson: *Illustrations of English Gypsy Law*, JGLS3, IX, pp. 169—170;
 id.: *Gypsy Marriage in England*, JGLS3, V, p. 164.
 - (11). Thurnwald: *Op. cit.*, Band II, p. 93.
 - (12). Günther: *Op. cit.*, pp. 69—72;
 Ronhaar: *Op. cit.*, p. 311;
 Thurnwald: *Op. cit.*, Band II, p. 93.
 - (13). Ronhaar: *Op. cit.*, p. 320.
 - (14). Father Anastas, the Carmelite: *The Nawar or Gypsies of the East* (Translated from the Arabic by Alexander Russell), JGLSn, VII, p. 270;
 Günther: *Op. cit.*, p. 106;
 Konrad Theodor Preuss: *Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde* (Herausgegeben von Richard Thurnwald), (F. Enke Verlag, Stuttgart, 1939), p. 249;
 Ronhaar: *Op. cit.*, p. 326;
 Thurnwald: *Op. cit.*, Band II, pp. 80—92.
 - (15). Buschan: *Die Völker Europas*, pp. 734, 820, 917 ff.;
 id.: *Die Völker Asiens, Australiens und der Südseeinseln*, p. 540.
 - (16). Cf. above: *The Gypsies in Germany*, I. 2. b., p. 51.
 - (17). Fleetwood Sandeman: *Norwegian Gypsies*, JGLSn, I, p. 190 (Notes & Queries).
 - (18). Preuss: *Op. cit.*, p. 254;
 Thurnwald: *Op. cit.*, Band II, pp. 71—79.
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CHAPTER III.

THE LARGER GROUPINGS.

In the following chapter the larger groupings than the immediate family will be considered. In the first place, one has to examine what groups of Gypsies can be identified in the countries which are taken into consideration in this study and next their relations among each other have to be studied. Are they friendly to each other or not, do they assist one another or not?

Later on the organization of these groups is examined. Here, their structure is considered to allow for a determination thereof. It must be elucidated whether the larger Gypsy groupings are only extended families or other kinship groups or yet another kind of group not based on relationship. The authority of a chief or of an assembly in such group will be studied next, if they exist at all. In this connection investigation should be made into the reach of authority and its execution as well as its formation.

Finally, the observance of laws, rules, and taboos will be studied. Perhaps, the meaning of 'law' is too great a concept in relation to the Gypsies. But on the other hand, it has already been shown in the previous chapters that the Gypsies definitely observe rules and taboos which may not be transgressed. In view of the existence of such rules or laws Gypsy jurisdiction must be considered whilst investigation is made into the nature of its organization (tribunal, judge), its power, and the punishments and penalties it may inflict on offenders.

In accordance with the above the following schedule will be observed:

- I. The larger groupings.
 1. Different groups.
 2. Relations between different groups.

II. Organization of groups.

1. Structure of groups.
2. Authority in the groups.
 - a) Chief or headman.
 - b) Assembly.

III. Legislation and Jurisdiction.

THE GYPSIES IN BULGARIA.

I. 1. The Gypsies in Bulgaria can be divided roughly into nomads and sedentaries who inhabit a certain region where they are mainly to be found, although, exceptions hereto are not rare. Another more superficial division of the Gypsies in Bulgaria is possible on the basis of their religion, Mohammedan or Christian Orthodox. The best differentiation possible of the Bulgarian Gypsies, however, is when based on their occupations because it seems that each tribe has or had a specific profession which is often combined with a difference of speech.

This division of the Bulgarian Gypsies based on their trades will be treated in the next chapter. It appears that, at one time, these Gypsies divided themselves in tribes which had not only their typical trades but also other specific characteristics in language and customs. Unfortunately, however, nothing definite is known about them (1).

I. 2. Not very much has been discovered about the relations between the different tribes of Bulgarian Gypsies. In a general way, they are complicated by the great differences in speech which sometimes exist. These differences tend to be smaller among sedentary Gypsies than among nomads. The inter-relations among various Mohammedan Gypsies are facilitated because Turkish is their common colloquial language. Sedentary Gypsies of different origin easily entertain relations of good neighbourhood and they mix freely with each other or with the Turkish non-Gypsy population. On the other hand, the differences between sedentary and nomad Gypsies are very great. They both regard each other with contempt.

Nomad Gypsies keep more together. Their relations with other Gypsies, nomads or sedentaries, do not amount to more than business-dealings. For example, the nomad sieve-makers provide the nomad comb-makers with false horse-tickets for their stolen horses.

The sedentary 'Drindari' musicians are despised by the other Gypsies on account of their profession and because their language is not understood. The best musicians among the 'Drindaris' have lost almost all Gypsy characteristics and they have become ordinary citizens who do not want to have anything more to do with Gypsies. Several Gypsies are ashamed to be Gypsy, they do not want to speak their own language or they have already forgotten it. Examples of such cases are the sedentary Moslem tanners and the nomad Christian 'Rudaris' or spoonmakers.

The nomad 'Zagundjis' are regarded as unclean by other Gypsies, although it has been noted occasionally that they accept Gypsies of another origin in their group. The nomad 'Parpulias' reproach other Gypsies with being dishonest and thievish (2).

II. 1. 2. a. b. III. Nothing is known about the organization of the different groups of Bulgarian Gypsies mentioned above. The same applies to the regulation of legislation and jurisdiction among them.

Notes:

- (1). Petulengro: Report on the Gypsy Tribes of North-East Bulgaria, JGLSn, IX, pp. 3—6.
 - (2). Petulengro: Op. cit., JGLSn, IX, pp. 10, 12, 20, 44, 49.
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THE GYPSIES IN THE SOUTH EAST BALKANS.

I. 1. The Gypsies of the South East Balkans are to be divided in Roumanian (Moldavian and Wallachian), Transylvanian, and Hungarian Gypsies. Among each of these groups of Gypsies, nomads and sedentaries are to be recognized.

To-day, the Roumanian Gypsies can be divided into the 'Lajesi' and the 'Vatrasi'. The 'Lajesi' subdivide themselves into different groups according to their occupation. Among them many nomads are still to be found. The 'Vatrasi' have settled down for a long time past and they have given up Gypsy ways (3).

Formerly, however, the Roumanian Gypsies were divided in another way and there are almost as many divisions as authors on the subject to be found. To summarize, in the last century, three kinds of Gypsies could be recognized in Moldavia and Wallachia. The 'Crown Gypsies' (or, 'Gypsies of the State') were free Gypsies and obliged to pay taxes to the State. Among them four distinct groups were recognizable: the 'Lingurari', the 'Ursari', the 'Rudari', and the 'Lajesi'. To-day, only the 'Lajesi' are still wanderers and clearly recognizable. — In the second and third instances, two kinds of Gypsy slaves were to be found in those countries up to the time of their emancipation in the middle of the last century. A first group of Gypsy slaves were the so-called monastery slaves who were the property of the monasteries and worked for them. The second group was composed of the slaves of the boyards or the country noblemen.

The Gypsy slaves, occasionally, were relatively free and they were allowed to wander if they paid their taxes to their masters to whom they belonged. Among the slave Gypsies different groups were to be found. The 'Lajesi', belonging to the same tribe as spoken of among the 'Crown-Gypsies', were wanderers. Another group was constituted by the 'Vatrasi' who, to-day, have given up Gypsy-life and have become sedentary and who, in the days of slavery, were grooms, domestics, and musicians. A last group is formed by the 'Netoci' who, nowadays, are not allowed to

stay in Roumania any longer; in former days, they had a very bad reputation as being great vagrants, criminal and thievish (4).

Nothing has been found about the groups of Gypsies which can be distinguished to-day in Transylvania and Hungary. Of course, the division between nomad and sedentary Gypsies can be made but I am not aware how many of the groups still exist which were identified in those countries by Wlislöcki during the last century. Wlislöcki divided the Transylvanian Gypsies into two main groups, the 'Gletetschore' or sedentary Gypsies and the 'Kortorar' or nomads. The 'Kortorar' he subdivided into four tribes: the 'Leila', 'Kukuya', 'Aschani', and 'Tschale'.

Schwicker, on his part, divided the Transylvanian Gypsies into sedentary, nomad, and 'Fiscal' Gypsies. The latter were compulsory sedentary goldwashers. Formerly, in Transylvania and Hungary, many Gypsies were compelled to become serfs and to work for the great landowners. Already in the 15th century Gypsies were constrained to serfdom and lived in a condition of slavery (5).

The Gypsy musicians, sedentary or nomad, must be classed to-day as a different group of Gypsies.

I. 2. Sedentary and nomad Gypsies have scarcely any relations with each other and in fact despise each other. The Hungarian Gypsies have a great contempt for their Roumanian brethren who they regard as belonging to a lower class. Even among the nomad Gypsies relations between the different groups are sometimes restricted to a minimum or do not exist at all because some of them consider the others as unclean. Wlislöcki writes about the 'castelife' of the Gypsies, each Gypsy staying in his own group which has its own mode of life based on the occupation of its members (6).

Among the former Gypsy slaves, the 'Vatrasi' have been assimilated by the Roumanian populations and they have little contact with the other Gypsies.

The assimilation to the local population is even greater among the Gypsy musicians, of whom many are originally 'Vatrasi'. The Gypsy musicians are the aristocracy of the Gypsies. Every Gypsy musician hopes to have his own orchestra in town and thus

raise his social status and be regarded as a member of the highest social class of Gypsies. The Gypsy musicians live suspended, as it were, between Gypsies and non-Gypsies. For the non-Gypsies they work and play but in the eyes of their public they are Gypsies. At the same time, they have lost contact with the nomad Gypsies, they do not speak Romani any more and the nomads do not fully count them to the Gypsies. Thus, it is clear that they try to conform themselves as much as possible to the local environment which admires them and simultaneously regards them as Gypsies, and belonging to a lower class (7).

II. 1. The Transylvanian Gypsy tribes which may always have been divided in different exogamous moieties or in sibs during the last century broke up in small groups of 10 to 13 related families because they were no longer allowed to live in large sized tribes. On the other hand, the Gypsies always showed a trend to subdivide themselves in smaller groups. These small groups or 'mahliya' had, according to Wlislöcki, the outlook of primitive clans which were again subdivided into exogamous moieties (8).

Among the Roumanian Gypsies a similar division was recognizable. For example, the 'Lajesi' subdivided themselves not only according to their trades but also in small groups of 10 to 15 families (as it is stated by Kogalniceanu) or even in larger groups of 20 to 37 families as Dr. Gaster has established in his study of a 'Bill of sale of Gypsy slaves in Moldavia, of 1851' (9).

To-day, these small groups are still to be found. They have become, however, much more independent of others and of their original tribe.

II. 2. a. In Transylvania, the small groups of related Gypsy families ('mahliya') are headed by a chief, the 'Saibidjo'. He decides on the wanderings of the group, he is its judge, and he is the deputy of the head of the tribe. The 'Saibidjo' is the representative of his group not only towards the chief of the tribe but also towards the non-Gypsy authorities of the country. He has the right to convoke all members of his group to decide on matters of general interest. Formerly, he also collected the

taxes due to the chief of the tribe. To-day, he is probably the sole leader of the group because the authority of the head of the tribe has largely diminished or has completely disappeared. — The 'Saibidjo' is not elected but this function is tacitly conferred on the most authoritative and wisest man by the fellow-members of his group and if they are not satisfied with him they will depose him and nominate another 'Saibidjo'. The importance of the 'Saibidjo' has increased with the subdivision of the Gypsy tribe in small groups (10).

The head of a Gypsy tribe was the 'Voyvode' who sometimes called himself 'King' or 'Duke' of the Gypsies. Formerly, the 'Voyvode' had great power over the members of his tribe. He concluded marriages or pronounced divorces, he was the judge of the tribe and he received the taxes collected by the 'Saibidjos'. Furthermore, he was the official representative of the tribe in its relations with the non-Gypsies. In the last century, the influence and power of the 'Voyvode' have weakened to a great extent and his title has become more a mark of honour than an implication of real authority. — According to Wlislöcki, the office of 'Voyvode' was hereditary in the paternal line. Generally, an old 'Voyvode' himself designated as his successor his eldest son or, if he had no son, his brother or, if he even had no brother, his brother-in-law.

In the case that there were several candidates to the office of 'Voyvode' who had equal right thereto he was selected by lot. Afterwards, he was initiated by the eldest 'Saibidjo' who took his oath of fidelity to the tribe. Then, he was carried on the back of every man of the tribe and drank with all 'Saibidjos' from the 'Voyvode's' goblet, a sign of his office. Later all assistants to the ceremony promised submission to him. To end the ceremony the 'Voyvode' would plant a tree with eggs placed underneath it so that the tribe might flourish under his leadership. A feast was finally held lasting several days. — Schwicker states that, according to Grellmann, the 'Voyvode' was elected by the members of the tribe from a 'Voyvode'-family only. To consecrate him in his office he was lifted three times, a custom copied from the Hungarians. — Occasionally, a 'Voyvode' who was too authoritative or who was not liked by the members or



his tribe was chased away. — As signs of his office a 'Voyvode' rode a horse, he carried a stick, grew a beard, wore large silver buttons on his coat, and was in possession of the large prismatic 'Voyvode'-goblet (11).

Old women were often much honoured and their influence, occasionally, was greater than that of the 'Voyvode'. Generally, their advice and judgement were asked in tribal affairs. It was these women who held the tribe together. At the same time, on some occasions, old and crippled women were left behind to die a miserable death when they were a hindrance to the movements of the tribe (12).

In the days of their first appearance in Hungary the King allowed some privileges to the chief of a Gypsy tribe. For example, in 1423, King Sigismund allowed the Gypsy chief Ladislaus to travel through the country and to act as judge over his tribe. But since the 16th century the Gypsies were supervised by an 'Over-Voyvode'. The functions of 'Over-Voyvode' were given as a reward by the King to Hungarian or Transylvanian noblemen and became an office of State. In Hungary four 'Over-Voyvodes' have been noted, sometimes even more, two in Hungary proper and two in Transylvania. The Gypsies were obliged to pay taxes to the 'Over-Voyvode' which denoted a respectable revenue for the latter and who had thus an interest to keep the Gypsies in the region to which he had been assigned.

The prerogative rights of the Gypsy chief were partly abolished in favour of the non-Gypsy 'Over-Voyvode'. The office of 'Over-Voyvode' has been noted until the last century and it survived longest in the supervisor of the Gypsy goldwashers. It seems that the power and authority of the 'Over-Voyvode' were restricted to the sedentary Gypsies only and this restriction explains no doubt why many Gypsies were forced to serfdom or obliged to settle down on the domain of some Hungarian or Transylvanian nobleman. To what authority the nomad Gypsies in Hungary and Transylvania were subjected is a matter about which there is little known. It is very probable that an 'Over-Voyvode' tried to keep, illegally, vagrant Gypsies in his region and to compel them to settle down (13).

In Roumania (Wallachia, Moldavia, and, to-day, the Roumanian

part of Transylvania) the division of power among the Gypsies is similar to that as noted among the Transylvanian Gypsies. The 'Giude' or 'Sales' was the leader of the smaller group (of 10 to 15 families) and he was subject to the chief of the tribe, the 'Buljubasa' who was elected from a 'Buljabasa'-family. He had the same prerogatives as the 'Voyvode' among the Transylvanian Gypsies and he was obliged to pay taxes to the Crown or to his master if he was the leader of slave Gypsies. Among these Gypsies the eldest woman or the 'phuri dai' had great influence on the tribe.

In Roumania, it was the Boyards, the monasteries and the representatives of the Crown who took the place of the 'Over-Voyvodes' and who controlled the Gypsies and received taxes from them. To-day, the status of the leader of the smaller group (the 'Vataf' according to Prof. Popp Serboianu) has risen. In camp, he is the sole authority on tribunal matters. He contracts work for the members of his group, although, he does not work at all himself and he receives the money earned by his subjects. On his part, he is obliged to care for them. The 'Vataf', however, is forced to pay a tax to the chief of the tribe ('Buljubasa') who lives in town and who is often very rich. The 'Buljubasa' is the official representative of the Gypsies in their relations with the non-Gypsies and the Government to which they are subject as any other member of the population (14).

Former Gypsy slaves no longer know of an organization as described above but they have disintegrated and mixed with the local population. In a way, the same applies to the Gypsy musicians. But on the other hand, to the Gypsy his orchestra and his music are the "continuation of his freedom" and the 'primas' is the leader not only of the orchestra but of its members, too (15).

Among the Gypsy musicians I have known, the 'primas' had great influence on the members of his band, in fact often more than the non-Gypsy manager. It must be noted that a member of a well-known Gypsy family can also influence the orchestra. In a general way, among the Gypsy musicians a great variation of the status of a person is noticeable, based in the first place on the virtuosity in his art and in the second place on the position taken by his family among the Gypsy musicians.

To conclude, the organization of the sedentary Gypsies has either fully disappeared or shows many signs of decadence under the influence of local environment and that of the Government under whose authority they are living. The office of chief of the tribe has almost entirely disappeared or continues its existence merely in the title of honour of 'King of the Gypsies' or 'Voyvode'. Perhaps the leaders of the small wandering groups still possess some real authority over its members but this power is largely restricted by the laws in force in the country in which they are roaming. It appears then as the father becomes more and more the sole head in his family, the authority of the head of the group, to which his family belongs, decreases.

II. 2. b. Among the Transylvanian Gypsies, when decisions of common interest to the small group ('Mahliya') had to be taken the 'Saibidjo' could convoke a council of all members of his group and ask its advice his word being decisive. To-day, the 'Saibidjo' has lost much of his power to the council.

In the same way, in tribal matters of general interest the tribal council (Foros manushengré) assembled. Its members were all 'Saibidjos' and the 'Voyvode' was president of the council. The meeting was held in the open in the presence of all members of the tribe, although only the persons mentioned above had voice in it. The affairs dealt with in this council were the division of territory for the different wandering groups and the administration of justice in dubious legal matters (16).

Sometimes, many Gypsies of different tribes organize a Gypsy congress to give a demonstration of their union and to obtain better treatment from a government (17). For example, in 1879 at Kirfalu (near Kaschau) Hungarian Gypsies held a congress to discuss "the common interests of Gypsies everywhere" (18). In Roumania, in 1933, at a congress at Bucharest the Gypsies founded 'The General Association of the Gypsies (Tziganes) of Rumania'. As always the aims pronounced were wide in range. In this case the aims of the Association were cultural, social, and spiritual. In the field of culture they desired to organize conferences and artistic feasts. Socially, they wanted a garden for Gypsy children, a school, a hospital, etc.; protection against

non-Gypsy competition; legal permission to exercise certain trades, and for nomad Gypsies permits to settle down; they even demanded, after the Association had been legally recognized, reduced railway-fares "to permit them to come to Bucharest, attend religious processions, cultural meetings, and congresses". On the spiritual side they promised fidelity and propagation of the Christian Orthodox faith and to "despise all other sects which tend to corrupt their souls"; nomads should be requested "to get their children baptized, to have them married legitimately"; every Gypsy should have a Bible at home, etc. It is not known to me how many Gypsies have adhered to this Association but if all Roumanian Gypsies were members of it its membership would amount to more than 300.000, this figure being the number of Gypsies living in Roumania before 1918 and to which to-day has to be added the number of Gypsies living in Transylvania (19).

III. At the time of their arrival in Europe the Gypsies had their own laws and rules which had to be observed in Gypsy society. Under the influence of the 'Over-Voyvodes' who became the highest legal authorities Gypsy law became restricted to minor cases. Yet, the Gypsies continued to observe their own laws regarding their inside organization. The Gypsy laws observed to-day are based on tradition and they are limited by present Gypsy observances and customs. Sedentary Gypsies and others who have disassociated themselves from Gypsy life do not feel bound by Gypsy law with their advancing assimilation to local social environment.

Theft and deceit in a Gypsy are punished; the offender is obliged to refund three to nine times the amount stolen or to repay it in brandy (Transylvania) or he will be flogged (Moldavia, Wallachia). Nevertheless the same crimes committed at the expense of non-Gypsies are not punished at all. — Quarrels are also often settled by payment in brandy (Transylvania). — Another group of laws concern marital life. Formerly, among some sedentary Gypsies in Transylvania, a marriage not concluded in Gypsy fashion was punished with exclusion. Infidelity and adultery on the side of the wife allowed of punishments including even the heaviest penalty known among the Gypsies (exclusion) but it could be also completely ignored.

In the Balkans, according to Wlislöcki (20), a faithless woman was judged by a "secret tribunal ('manlaslo') which 'tips the black spot', in the shape of a circular piece of wood with a peg driven through it". A man was punished in the same way for theft, deceit, or murder. In Hungary, a faithless woman was "flogged, gashed in four places on her limbs, left naked tied to a stake for twenty-four hours, and then expelled from her band" (21).

Even until recently punishment for infidelity by facial mutilation has been noted. In Roumania, in 1937, a man cut off his wife's nose to punish her for her infidelity and she accepted the punishment as quite natural. This punishment for infidelity and adultery has been noted among many different Gypsies and it is well-known in India as in medieval Europe as well. In Transylvania, adultery was occasionally punished by temporary exclusion from the tribe of the culprits who bought themselves in again after a certain time had elapsed by paying a tribute of brandy. Of course, adultery was sometimes followed by divorce. — A faithless husband was also punished, on some occasions, for example, in Hungary by a shot in his arms or legs. Generally, however, I believe the consequences to a depraved husband are less onerous than to a faithless wife. — Offence against uncleanness taboos by a man or a woman is often very severely punished, for instance by exclusion from the tribe. Exclusion from the tribe is for many reasons the heaviest punishment that can be inflicted upon a Gypsy. He is obliged to wander alone, no one desires to have relations with him, he is afflicted by homesickness for which no remedy exists, and he will die alone from nostalgia as an outcast (22).

The Gypsy slaves and serfs were subject to severe punishment by their masters. They were flogged even for small offences; while a runaway Gypsy had an iron collar, bristled inside with nails, clamped on his neck (23).

Transgression against Gypsy law is adjudicated by a judge or by a tribunal. As a general rule, the office of judge is combined with that of chief of the tribe. In olden days, this right was officially conferred on the Gypsy leader by the King, for example, on the 'Voyvode' Ladislaus in 1423. Later his rights in this

sphere were restricted and his authority confined to Gypsy matters only. Formerly, the 'Saibidjo' had limited power also in judicial matters and he was responsible to the 'Voyvode' in this respect. To-day, the leader of a Gypsy group shares this power with a tribunal.

The guilt of a person is sometimes ascertained in a very simple manner. A suspect who can procure more witnesses to assure his innocence than the prosecutor can find persons to confirm his guilt will be declared innocent. In another instance the suspect is obliged to take an oath affirming his innocence (24).

The judgement of a 'Voyvode' has been mentioned as being final, although many cases are known also where a tribunal was authoritative. A kind of super-judge has been even noted in the middle of the last century, namely the Gypsy King Kis Mihajlo who was asked by many Gypsies to speak justice in very complicated matters. — No clear evidence has been found whether, besides the Gypsy chief, a special Gypsy judge exercised his functions at some occasions as has been tacitly assumed. It is more probable, as has been already stated, that the Gypsy chief and the Gypsy judge are one and the same person and that the functions of the Gypsy chief restrict themselves more and more to judicial matters. This is clearly seen in the case of some sedentary Gypsies in the last century who although they no longer had any chief still recognized a Gypsy judge (25).

Nothing very definite is known about the Gypsy tribunals. According to Wlislöcki, in Transylvania, the tribunal or assembly (*Foros manushengré*) is composed by the 'Saibidjos' under the presidency of the 'Voyvode'. According to other authors the tribunal consists only of old men. In some cases, the sessions are secret, in others not. Only one thing is namely certain that a Gypsy tribunal does exist and that it inspires fear in the Gypsies.

Severe insults or attacks on a person's honour occasionally call for blood-revenge but as a rule, these incidents can be arranged amicably and the parties reconciled. In such cases a judge and a tribunal take no part (26).

Nothing is to be found about legislation and jurisdiction among the sedentary Gypsies and the Gypsy musicians. It may be assum-

ed that they do not observe Gypsy law very strictly any longer or disregarding them completely live according to the laws of the country.

Notes:

- (3). T. R. Gjorgjevic: Rumanian Gypsies in Serbia, JGLS3, VIII, p. 13;
C. J. Popp Serboianu: Les Tsiganes, (Payot, Paris, 1930), p. 53.
- (4). Dr. M. Gaster: Bill of Sale of Gypsy Slaves in Moldavia 1851, JGLS3, II, p. 69;
Gjorgjevic: Op. cit., JGLS3, VIII, pp. 8—12;
P. N. Panaitescu: The Gypsies in Wallachia and Moldavia, JGLS3, XX, pp. 71—72;
Popp Serboianu: Op. cit., pp. 51—53;
Dr. J. H. Schwicker: Die Zigeuner in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, (Wien/Teschen, 1883), pp. 29—30.
- (5). Schwicker: Op. cit., p. 44;
Dr. H. Wliskoeki: Zur Volkskunde der transsilvanischen Zigeuner, (Hamburg, 1887), pp. 6—8;
Wliskoeki: Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke, (Hamburg, 1890), pp. 53—55.
- (6). M. Block: Moeurs et Coutumes des Tziganes, (Payot, Paris, 1936), pp. 152—153;
Schwicker: Op. cit., pp. 128—129;
T. W. Thompson: Gypsies in the Mezöség of Transylvania, JGLS3, IX, pp. 194—195 (Ns & Qs);
Wliskoeki: Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke, p. 53.
- (7). Gjorgjevic: Op. cit., JGLS3, VIII, p. 15;
Schwicker: Op. cit., pp. 128—129;
Dr. E. Spur: The Language and Status of the Gypsy Orchestras of Hungary, JGLS3, XVII (jub), pp. 47—48;
W. Starkie: Gypsy Music in Hungary, JGLS3, XIII, p. 50 (Ns & Qs).
- (8). Thompson: Gypsy Marriage in England, JGLS3, V, p. 20;
Wliskoeki: Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke, pp. 58—61;
Wliskoeki: Volkskunde, p. 9.
- (9). Gaster: Op. cit., JGLS3, II, pp. 69, 71;
Gjorgjevic: Op. cit., JGLS3, VIII, p. 11.
- (10). Wliskoeki: Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke, pp. 58—59.
- (11). Schwicker: Op. cit., pp. 129—131;
E. O. Winstedt: Some Transylvanian Gypsy Documents of the 16th Century, JGLS3, XX, p. 56;
Wliskoeki: Volkskunde, p. 9;
Wliskoeki: Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke, pp. 74, 78—82.
- (12). Schwicker: Op. cit., pp. 145—146;
Wliskoeki: Volkskunde, pp. 20—21;
Wliskoeki: Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke, p. 63.

- (13). D. MacRitchie: Gypsy Nobles, JGLSn, I, pp. 101—105;
 Schwieker: Op. cit., p. 130;
 Winstedt: Op. cit., JGLS3, XX, pp. 51—56;
 Wliskoeki: Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke, pp. 36—37, 79.
- (14). Block: op. cit., pp. 154—157;
 Gaster: op. cit., JGLS3, II, p. 69;
 Gjorgjevic: op. cit., JGLS3, VIII, p. 11;
 Popp Serboianu: op. cit., pp. 57—59.
- (15). Spur: op. cit., JGLS3, XVII (jub.), p. 47;
 Starkie: Hungarian Gypsy Fiddlers, JGLS3, XVI, p. 103.
- (16). Wliskoeki: Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke, pp. 59, 75—76.
- (17). Cf. Block: op. cit., p. 154.
- (18). Winstedt: Gypsy Parliaments, JGLSn, II, p. 273 (Ns & Qs).
- (19). W. J. Haley: The Gypsy Conference at Bucharest, JGLS3, XIII, pp. 182—187.
- (20). Winstedt: Forms and Ceremonies, JGLSn, II, p. 356. From Wliskoeki: Vehmgerichte bei den bosnischen und bulgarischen Wanderzigeuner, in 'Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn' (Budapest, 1893), III, p. 173.
- (21). Thompson: Gypsy Marriage in England, JGLS3, VI, p. 156.
- (22). Block: op. cit., pp. 157, 161;
 W. Ferguson: Gypsy Punishments, JGLS3, XVI, p. 148 (Ns & Qs);
 Gjorgjevic: op. cit., JGLS3, VIII, p. 11;
 MacRitchie: The Privileges of Gypsies, JGLSn, I, p. 301;
 Popp Serboianu: op. cit., p. 59;
 Schwieker: op. cit., p. 144;
 Thompson: Gypsy Marriage in England, JGLS3, VI, p. 156;
 Wliskoeki: Volkskunde, p. 23;
 Wliskoeki: Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke, pp. 76—78.
- (23). Gjorgjevic: op. cit., JGLS3, VIII, p. 13.
- (24). Austro—Hungarian Items: Oath by Bread and Salt, JGLSo, I, p. 173;
 Wliskoeki: Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke, p. 76.
- (25). Block: op. cit., pp. 154, 156—157;
 F. W. Brepohl: Nikolaus Mihajlo der Kleine, JGLSn, IV, p. 48;
 Schwieker: op. cit., pp. 130—132;
 Winstedt: Transylvanian Gypsy Documents, JGLS3, XX, p. 51;
 Wliskoeki: Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke, pp. 58—59.
- (26). Block: op. cit., pp. 157—159;
 Wliskoeki: Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke, p. 75.

THE GYPSIES IN SERBIA.

1. 1. In Serbia four different kinds of Gypsies are to be found. In the first place, mention may be made of the Turkish Gypsies. They are Mohammedan Gypsies originating from Turkey and they constitute the oldest group of Gypsies in that country. Among them the 'Korano Rom' only came to Serbia in the last century. Secondly the Roumanian Gypsies in Serbia must be noted. These Gypsies of Christian Orthodox faith have been migrating to Serbia since the 17th century until to-day, leaving Roumania because the conditions of living there were too unfavourable (slavery). They can be subdivided like the Roumanian Gypsies according to their original occupations. The "White Gypsies" so-called because of their lighter complexion constitute a third variety of Gypsies in Serbia. They are Mohammedans originating from Bosnia. All, the Gypsies mentioned above are sedentary, forced to settle down by law. The fourth kind of Gypsies which may be noted in Serbia is composed of the Banat or German or Austrian Gypsies. They are nomads and not allowed to enter Serbia (27).

I. 2. Intercourse between the different kinds of Gypsies in Serbia is restricted by differences in language, customs, religion, and occupation. Nevertheless they show a trend to live in each other's neighbourhood because Gypsies of another origin will settle down in the same part of a village or of a town where other Gypsies are already living. But generally, closer relations are not maintained. On the other hand, some Turkish Gypsies and Roumanian Gypsy blacksmiths have intermingled so much that they cannot be distinguished any longer from each other. The "White Gypsies" have almost completely given up Gypsy ways and have assimilated themselves to the Serbian population (28).

II. 1. It appears that the sedentary Gypsies live together in a special part of a village or a town. Occasionally, some families will constitute a group of their own marrying among each other

as can be observed among the nomad Gypsies. A larger structure of their organization above the patriarchal family, however, does not seem to be the rule (29).

II. 2. a. Among the Gypsies in Serbia, the father is the absolute master over his family. Formerly, the Gypsies elected a representative for their dealings with the non-Gypsies and at the same time a tax-collector for the special Gypsy tax, both officials receiving a small part of it. Until 1884, when the Gypsy tax was abolished and the Gypsies came to be considered as ordinary Serbian citizens, a 'Haraschlia' who, originally, also had judicial power over the Gypsies (until 1845), was the official non-Gypsy tax-collector and the head of the Gypsy representatives. To-day, an elder Gypsy the 'Kmet' is nominated by the local civil authorities as mediator between the Gypsies and the non-Gypsies but the 'Kmet' has no real power over the Gypsies belonging to his district (30).

II. 2. b. Nothing is known about an assembly or a meeting of Gypsies as highest authority among the Gypsies of Serbia.

III. Very little is known either about legislation and jurisdiction and it appears that they have conformed themselves in legal matters to the procedures of the country.

The punishment of a faithless wife by cutting off her hands and nose has been noted in Serbia during the last century (31). More recent instances are, however, unknown.

Theft at the expense of a non-Gypsy is kept secret, but the same crime committed to the detriment of a Gypsy is considered very unsuitable and occasions loud protests. All suspected persons are made to take an oath affirming their innocence on the anvil in the presence of their neighbours. Among the Gypsy blacksmiths the anvil is considered sacred and every false oath made on it is a perjury which so as it is believed, will be severely punished by death or deformity in the children or by illness. Other Gypsies who are not blacksmiths but have another occupation know the same holy oath on "the actual instrument by which they live", for example an agriculturist takes an oath on the axe, a musician

on his violin, or even on money. Other Gypsies again swear on 'kar' the male organ of procreation (32).

Notes.

- (27). Prof. Dr. T. R. Gjorgjevic: Von den Zigeunern in Serbien, JGLSn, I, pp. 222—227;
Gjorgjevic: Rumanian Gypsies in Serbia, JGLS3, VIII, pp. 19—23;
Gjorgjevic: Die Zigeuner in Serbien, (Budapest, 1908) (Ausgabe der 'Ethnologischen Mitteilungen aus Ungarn'), pp. 5—7.
 - (28). Gjorgjevic: Die Zigeuner, p. 35;
Gjorgjevic: Rumanian Gypsies in Serbia, JGLS3, VIII, p. 24.
 - (29). Gjorgjevic: Die Zigeuner, p. 34;
A. Petrovic: Contributions to the Study of the Serbian Gypsies, JGLS3, XIV, p. 156.
 - (30). Gjorgjevic: Die Zigeuner, pp. 10—14;
A. Thesleff: Report on the Gypsy Problem, JGLSn, V, p. 86.
 - (31). M. Edith Durham: Balkan Gypsies, JGLSn, IV, p. 67 (Ns & Qs). From
Ami Boué: La Turquie de l'Europe, 1840.
 - (32). Gjorgjevic: Die Zigeuner, p. 38;
Petrovic: Op. cit., JGLS3, XIV, pp. 25, 187—189; JGLS3, XVI, pp. 23—26.
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THE COPPERSMITHS.

I. 1. 2. The Coppersmith Gypsies have been considered as a group apart and its subdivision based on tribal, regional or social differences has not been taken in account. They must have been related to some Balkan Gypsies. 'Greek Gypsies' in Australia wanted some judicial cases be judged by a Coppersmith chief. On the other hand, they had few relations with foreign Gypsies or with the local Gypsies of the countries in which they stayed (33).

II. 1. The Coppersmith Gypsies travelled in groups of closely related families, for example, a father and his wife with their sons (and daughters) and their families (Cf. also Ch. I: The Coppersmiths, p. 44 ff.). Several of these groups were distinguished by nicknames. Inside these groups great differences in wealth were sometimes to be noted. — Full information about their organization, however, is lacking (34).

II. 2. a. The leader of a group of Coppersmith Gypsies had only limited power. His authority was based mainly on his mental abilities, his physical strength, and perhaps also on his great wealth. At the same time, he had not many functions to fulfil. In case of travel, he would go to the town or country which had been tentatively selected as a new domicile to spy it out before the whole group left its momentary camping-place.

Next he would set out with some of the members of his group and would only call for the remainder of his group when conditions of work and the relations with the local population were favourable at the new dwelling-place. There he would make all necessary arrangements with the authorities and the non-Gypsies. It was the chief furthermore who paid a great part of the travelling expenses. Although, he himself was very clever in finding work he did not look for it for the others. On the contrary, for his services he made the others work for him promising them to

pay for it but not keeping his promise. As signs of his chieftainship he carried a big stick different to those carried by the other men and he lived in a large and luxurious tent. The others paid respect to him also by addressing him and his wife in a special manner (35).

II. 2. b. It appears that the highest authority in tribal and legal matters was reserved to the council ('diwan') of which all men were members but from which all women and children were excluded. It was presided over by the chief (36).

III. Not much is known either about legislation of Coppersmith Gypsies. Nothing definite is known about the penalties attaching to violations of uncleanness taboos, adultery, and crimes committed against the members of the group. The tribunal which was composed of all the men of the group like the 'diwan' seems to have wielded great power including rights of banishment and the sentence of death. The judge was probably the president of the council that is to say the chief of the group. In what way the verdict at such trial ('Romani Kris') was reached, is only indicated by a vague reference to the drawing of lots and can not rank as definite evidence (37).

Notes.

- (33). E. O. Winstedt: Coppersmith Gypsy Notes, JGLSn, VIII, p. 253.
 (34). Winstedt: The Gypsy Coppersmith Invasion of 1911—1913, JGLSn, VI, pp. 260—261, 264;
 Winstedt: Notes, JGLSn, VIII, pp. 247, 253.
 (35). Winstedt: Invasion, JGLSn, VI, pp. 262—264, 272, 275;
 Winstedt: Notes, JGLSn, VIII, p. 246.
 (36). Winstedt: Invasion, JGLSn, VI, p. 263.
 (37). Winstedt: Invasion, JGLSn, VI, pp. 262—263;
 Winstedt: Notes, JGLSn, VIII, pp. 248—250.
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THE GYPSIES IN GERMANY.

I. 1. The Gypsies in Germany may be divided in the first place into the 'Sinti' and the 'Rom', the 'Sinti' being the original German Gypsies. And among the German Gypsies, the 'Sinti' and the 'Austrians' or 'Laleri' can be distinguished. The 'Sinti' are subdivided furthermore in small groups according to the territory in which they roamed. In 1722, three large groups of Gypsies were noted which were named after their leaders and which were each confined to their own regions; Eastern, Western, Central and South Germany. To-day, these groups have become much smaller under the restrictions imposed on them by law. Three different tribes can be recorded among the later arrived 'Rom' or foreign Gypsies. The 'Ungri' or horsedealers (or 'Lovari'), the 'Gelderara' or kettlemenders, and the 'Medvasi' or bearleaders who are only represented in small numbers. The last group to be noted is constituted by Gypsy half-breeds, the 'Tsusni', Romani speaking nomads (38).

I. 2. Relations between these different groups of Gypsies are slight, each living in its own sphere of life and in its own territory. All Gypsies evince the greatest contempt for the 'Tsusni', the Gypsy half-breeds. But also the divergences existing between the other different groups make relations very difficult. The groups of 'Sinti' show a great enmity when one group is trespassing on the territory of another; in olden days, this even might result in regular fights and Gypsy wars. Although, the 'Sinti' and the 'Austrians' have much in common excepting some slight differences in speech the former group shows little respect for the other. Relations between the two groups of 'Sinti' and the 'Rom' are non-existent because the differences in speech, customs, and in origin are too great while the 'Ungri' and the 'Gelderara' live apart from each other. The 'Medvasi' are quite isolated from the other Gypsies, they deny the fact that they are Gypsies for fear that people would not want to trade with them (39).

II. 1. In the following paragraphs only the 'Sinti', the real German Gypsies, and the 'Austrians' are taken into consideration. Formerly, the Gypsies lived in large groups composed of different families which were more or less closely related to each other. To-day, the Gypsies have split up into small groups of related families travelling with one or two caravans throughout the country the family bond being the strongest link of the group (40).

II. 2. a. The small groups in which the German Gypsies wander to-day are headed by the chief of the family or of the closely related families which comprise the group or else are led by the oldest man of the group. The leader of such a small group directs their travels, decides on the new camping-place and negotiates all transactions with the non-Gypsies. His decisions are accepted as final by all members of the group. In former days, about 1727, it has been already noted that when a large group was forced to split up into small groups the oldest man became the leader of such a small group. In these groups of a few related families the oldest woman has far reaching influence (41).

Each larger grouping of Gypsies has its own leader but it appears that this office is slowly dying out. His authority is not very great and the head of the family is relatively independent of him. The chief's power which in former days was far reaching is very limited to-day. His functions are mainly of a civil character. He registers birth and death, occasionally he concludes marriages, although his consent to marriage is no longer necessary and he pronounces divorces.

His greatest influence is still in matters of Gypsy law and on decisions concerning the uncleanness of a person. He is president of the assembly and of the tribunal but here, again, his influence is restricted. — A Gypsy chief is elected for life, according to Liebich and Otter (42). He is elected by all, although probably only by the male, adult members of the tribe in an unanimous vote. The successor of a Gypsy chief is elected in advance while the ruling leader is still living. Conditions for election are that the candidate be mature of age, wealthy, respected by the others, he have real authority and be closely related to a leader's family. According to Liebich, after his election the new chief was crowned

and officially consecrated in his new dignity. He then drunk from a goblet which he threw away afterwards and promised fidelity to his subjects while the latter for their part promised to subject themselves to his authority. The ceremony ended by the planting of the holy tree of the tribe and with a feast. As a sign of his dignity he carried from then onward the seal of the tribe (43).

In the 15th century, on their arrival in Germany all Gypsies had only one chief, the 'King', 'Count', 'Duke', or 'Voyvode' of the Gypsies. But after their subdivision into different regional groups, which were presumably strengthened by later arrivals, each of these (three) groups received its own chief who, as it appears from younger records, probably shared his authority with an old man, the judge, the chief caring for all matters other than legal ones. — Although, no definite evidence has been found it is very probable that one time during the 15th century and later the Gypsies were ruled by a super-chief ranked with a high title who was not of Gypsy blood himself and who occupied a similar position to the 'Over-Voyvode' in the South Eastern Balkans (44).

No corroborative evidence has been found for the statement made by Dr. Solf (45) that each of the three German tribes elected its 'captain' for the duration of seven years.

II. 2. b. In Germany, large gatherings of Gypsies are prohibited and thus on rare occasions only can an assembly meet. From this it follows that upon the leader of the small group devolves the greatest authority in it while the occasional assemblies have only little influence. Formerly, however, Gypsy parliaments have been noted, for example in 1872 at Cannstatt where general tribal affairs were discussed. Liebich writes that such a Gypsy parliament was held every seven years at which the chief of the tribe gave his advice and his orders (46).

III. Gypsy legislation to-day restricts itself to internal Gypsy affairs, unobservance of uncleannes taboos and violation of the Gypsy code of honour or other transgressions of Gypsy custom. Formerly, adultery by a woman was punished by cutting off

her nose or gashing her face followed, occasionally, by her expulsion from the group.

A man guilty of the same offence was shot in his arms or legs. To-day, exclusion is the severest punishment for adultery and infidelity. Less serious unobservances of uncleanness taboos are punished by the declaration of temporary outlawry and of uncleanness which punishment, among the Viennese 'Sinti', affects the whole family of the condemned with the exception of the children under the age of 14 years. — A declaration of outlawry and of uncleanness does not mean that the condemned is excluded from the group or tribe as it is customary among Gypsies in other countries. The convicted person is allowed to travel with the group but nobody may drink from his glass nor eat from his plate and he is treated as an unclean and polluted person. His punishment is considered absolved after the tribunal has condoned it or after he has drunk out of the chief's glass offered to him by the leader (47).

Although, in olden days the judge, who was generally the same person as the chief, may have been the sole legal authority of the group, but to-day he shares his judicial power with a tribunal ('tsil'). The chief or the judge is the president of the tribunal which is composed of a jury of old or at least mature men; or the Gypsy judge, according to Liebich, was assisted by a solicitor-general, who was the prosecutor and defending counsel at the same time, and by a clerk, forming together the jury. It is the jury which decides on the guilt or the innocence of the accused after the accuser has appeared in person and has brought forward his complaint and the proofs thereof. The jury gives the verdict which must be taken unanimously, although, on this count some doubt exists because Liebich states that the majority of votes is decisive. Then the judge (or the chief) announces the verdict and imposes the punishment. — The tribunal meets in annual sessions. Its meetings are secret and it would appear that no women are allowed to take part in it. The tribunal not only decides on transgressions of Gypsy law but it considers further new laws and taboos to be imposed as well as old ones to be altered or abolished (48).

Some insults or even crimes committed by one Gypsy against

another occasionally lead to actual blood revenge. The wrong done calls for revenge in like manner. This method of settling personal disputes or feuds among one another without interference by the Gypsy tribunal has clearly been established among the German Gypsies. Reconciliation is possible, however, and effected by the opponents drinking to their health, each out of the other's glass (49).

Notes.

- (38). Dr. R. Liebich: *Die Zigeuner*, (F. A. Brockhaus Leipzig, 1863), p. 38;
J. Miskow: *Jaija Sattler and the Gypsies of Berlin*, JGLS3, X, pp. 86—88;
K. Otter: *Viennese Gypsies*, JGLS3, X, pp. 106—107;
Dr. Solf on the German Gypsies, JGLSo, I, p. 51 (Ns & Qs);
H. Weltzel: *The Gypsies of Central Germany*, JGLS3, XVII, pp. 10—14, 78—79, 108;
E. O. Winstedt: *Some Records of the Gypsies in Germany 1407—1792*, JGLS3, XIII, pp. 110—111.
- (39). Otter: *op. cit.*, JGLS3, X, p. 107;
Weltzel: *op. cit.*, JGLS3, XVII, pp. 13—14, 74, 104—109;
Winstedt: *op. cit.*, JGLS3, XIII, pp. 110—111.
- (40). Weltzel: *op. cit.*, JGLS3, XVII, pp. 78—79;
E. Wittich: *Blicke in das Leben der Zigeuner*, (Huss Verlag, Striegau, 1911), p. 20;
Wittich: *The Organization of South German Gypsies*, JGLSn, IV, p. 287.
- (41). Liebich: *op. cit.*, p. 45;
Weltzel: *op. cit.*, JGLS3, XVII (jub), p. 32;
Winstedt: *Hannikel*, JGLS3, XVI, p. 170;
Wittich: *Organization*, JGLSn, IV, p. 291;
Wittich: *Blicke*, p. 26.
- (42). Liebich: *op. cit.*, p. 42;
Otter: *op. cit.*, JGLS3, X, p. 111.
- (43). Liebich: *op. cit.*, pp. 38—43;
Otter: *op. cit.*, JGLS3, X, pp. 111—112;
T. W. Thompson: *Illustrations of English Gypsy Law*, JGLS3, IX, p. 168;
Winstedt: *Hannikel*, JGLS3, XVI, pp. 169—172;
Winstedt: *Review of 'Hefte für Zigeunerkunde'*, 1—5, (Huss-Verlag, Striegau i. Schles.), JGLSn, V, p. 307;
Wittich: *Organization*, JGLSn, IV, p. 287;
Wittich: *Blicke*, p. 21.

- (44). Liebich: op. cit., pp. 37—38;
 Winstedt: Hannikel, JGLS3, XVI, p. 170;
 Wittich: Organization, JGLSn, IV, p. 287;
 Wittich: Blicke, p. 21.
- (45). Dr. Solf on the German Gypsies, JGLSo, I, p. 51.
- (46). Liebich: op. cit., pp. 40—41;
 Winstedt: Gypsy Parliaments, JGLSn, II, pp. 272—273 (Ns & Qs);
 Wittich: Blicke, p. 26.
- (47). Liebich: op. cit., pp. 40, 50;
 Otter: op. cit., JGLS3, X, p. 112;
 Thompson: Gypsy Marriage in England, JGLS3, VI, p. 156;
 Winstedt: Hannikel, JGLS3, XVI, p. 163;
 Winstedt: Forms and Ceremonies, JGLSn, II, p. 356;
 Wittich: Organization, JGLSn, IV, p. 290;
 Wittich: Blicke, p. 24.
- (48). Liebich: op. cit., pp. 39, 41—42;
 Otter: op. cit., JGLS3, X, pp. 112—113;
 Thompson: Illustrations of English Gypsy Law, JGLS3, IX, pp. 168—169;
 Thompson: The Uncleaness of Women among English Gypsies, JGLS3, I, p. 40;
 Wittich: Organization, JGLSn, IV, pp. 287—288;
 Wittich: Blicke, p. 26.
- (49). Otter: op. cit., JGLS3, X, p. 116;
 Wittich: Organization, JGLSn, IV, pp. 288—289;
 Wittich: Blicke, pp. 21—23.
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THE GYPSIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

I. 1. By and large, the Gypsies of Great Britain can be divided according to the region in which they wander. Thus, the Scottish, English, and Welsh Gypsies are to be distinguished. But divided as regional groupings they do not represent any definite group, on the contrary, many different groups may be recognized which, originally, had the outlook of maternal clans or of groups of associated families. In the following the English Gypsies will be mainly considered.

I. 2. Not much is recorded about the relations of the different groups of English Gypsies. In a general way, it appears that every group goes its own ways not heeding the others but, at the same time, not cherishing feelings of animosity towards them. In olden days, differences must have been greater between the various groups because Gypsies did not hesitate to rob other Gypsies who did not belong to their group (50). Naturally, considerations of uncleanness, then as to-day, had a great influence on the relations between Gypsies; for example the Boswells were and are considered unclean and on this score known as 'Kaks' (51). — Relations between English and foreign Gypsies do not exist (52).

II. 1. During the last century, the English Gypsies were organized in matrilineal groups of related families. In these groups all members were related and kin to each other. These 'maternal clans' or 'joint-families', the latter term being used to underline their endogamous character and to distinguish them from 'clans' which are generally considered exogamous, were subdivided in exogamous moieties whose members co-operated, meeting one another at regular intervals. The 'maternal clans' increased their members by matrilineal marriage in the course of time and then split up into new and similar groups of related families, relationship being their basic characteristic. Nowadays,

these groups of families have lost much of their maternal character while both influences, paternal and maternal, are to be noted in their organization (53).

II. 2. a. Authority in the groups of families, to-day, belongs to the head of the family. Definite leadership, however, does not exist and the group is held together by a "sentiment of oneness" and by adhesion (54). On the other hand, in the last century and earlier the 'King and the Queen' of the Gypsies are mentioned on several occasions. The 'King' could have had little authority over the tribe and his functions were probably limited mainly to the presidency of the Gypsy tribunal and to jurisdiction. It may be assumed that the Gypsy King was elected from a family related to a family of Gypsy Kings, for example, the Smith, Lee, and Stanley families (55).

In Scotland, during the 16th century the presence of a "count and lord of Lesser Egypt, as well as master of the Egyptians dwelling within the Kingdom of Scotland" has been recorded. This personage, by name of John Wann alias Fall or Faw, was ruler over the Scottish Gypsies who were obliged to obey him and subject to his right to punish them. These powers were "formally delegated to him by the King of Scotland" as may be seen from a document of the year 1540 described in the 'Register of the Privy Seal' (vol. XIII, fol. 83). This "count" of the Scottish Gypsies may be compared with the 'Over-Voyvode' already noted in the South Eastern Balkans and the 'Dukes' in Germany, though, in this case, it is not clear, however, whether he was a non-Gypsy or a real Gypsy (56).

II. 2. b. Nothing is known about a larger authoritative body among the English Gypsies. Furthermore, nothing is recorded about a council of elders or of men. A vague indication of the existence of an annual Gypsy Parliament at Divels-Arse-in-Peak (Derbyshire) or at Ketbrooke (near Blackheath) during the 17th century does not constitute any definite evidence on the subject (57).

III. Many laws and common rules are observed among the English Gypsies or were still kept during the last century. The

payment of a debt to a Gypsy must be made at a time and at a place determined beforehand. According to Crabb a Gypsy who did not meet his contract was obliged to pay twice the amount owed or to repay it by way of actual labor for the creditor; Borrow states that the punishment for it was expulsion (58). — Another rule observed among the English Gypsies is that one Gypsy has to help another when in need through sickness, death, imprisonment, etc. and it appears that this rule is extended also to friendly non-Gypsies. — That a Gypsy must tell the truth to another Gypsy is another rule observed among these Gypsies just as a Gypsy may not cheat another Gypsy, for example, by selling a stolen horse, although, such action may be eventually permitted if it takes place at a considerable distance from the scene of the theft. — An accusation on doubtful grounds of the 'thing which is not', is investigated and if it appears to be untrue the accuser must fight the person falsely accused, is it true, however, that odium falls upon the offender. — Formerly, adultery by a woman was severely punished by cutting off her ears in part or whole, by cutting her hair and gashing her cheek, or by slitting her nose, or rending her clothes at the hips, or even by exposure in the nude. To-day, these punishments are disappearing.

During the last century, according to Simson, in Scotland a divorced woman was not allowed to have further intercourse; unobservance of this law was severely punished, in some cases even with death (59). — Unobservance of uncleanness taboos makes a Gypsy unclean himself. He must bring his own glass and plate and may not touch others. Slowly, in the course of time his uncleanness disappears and is forgotten. — Among some Gypsies (the Woods) women are not allowed to enter public houses but they must drink outside. — To-day, expulsion is the heaviest punishment Gypsy society can inflict on its members (60).

Many Gypsy trials have been noted in England. In one case, no women were allowed, in another women were present at the trial. The trial of Jacob (Lee?) in 1842 at Bolton's Bench (Lyndhurst) was held in the presence of three to four hundred Gypsies. The accused stood in the middle of a ring formed by the "King of the Gypsies and the patriarchs of the different tribes", a second circle was formed by the men belonging to the

tribes, and a third circle was composed of the women. At this trial, it was the 'King' who pronounced the verdict and spat in the culprit's face. It is very probable that the 'King' and the 'patriarchs' together constituted the tribunal (61).

At another trial, held in the last century, women were also present. A Gypsy was accused of having stolen from another member of the tribe and in the first instance he admitted his guilt denying it, however, at the trial itself. In the case of this trial it appears that the president of the tribunal had only very little power, and the jury moreover was constituted probably by all adults because everyone was permitted to express his opinion as to the guilt of the accused, while the accused could not be punished unless an unanimous verdict was given (62). — To determine guilt, an accused was and is, often, made to swear an oath of innocence in the presence of the others, for example, in one case on the Bible and in another on a loaf of bread. — The lack of real authority of a Gypsy King or leader who may act as judge makes Gypsy jurisdiction very difficult because only when the two opposing parties can agree upon the personage who should act as justice can a trial be held. On the other hand, it has been noted that jurisdiction was effected by a tribunal or a jury composed of the heads of the families (63).

In case of personal quarrels it has been observed that among some Gypsies (Woods) the two opponents fight it out on a field under the supervision of referees. The case is considered as closed only after they have shaken hands. About blood revenge nothing is recorded (64).

Notes.

- (50). Gypsies as Highwaymen and Footpads, JGLS3, VI, p. 72.
- (51). T. W. Thompson: The Uncleaness of Women among English Gypsies, JGLS3, I, pp. 16—17;
Thompson: The Social Polity of the English Gypsies, JGLS3, II, pp. 134—135.
- (52). Thompson: Foreign Gypsy Coppersmiths in England in 1868, JGLS3, VI, p. 144 (Ns & Qs).
- (53). Thompson: Polity, JGLS3, II, pp. 120—139;
Thompson: Samuel Fox and the Derbyshire Boswells, JGLS3, IV, p. 12;
Thompson: Gypsy Marriage in England, JGLS3, V, p. 19;
E. O. Winstedt and Thompson: Gypsy Dances, JGLSn, VI, p. 32.

- (54). Thompson: Polity, JGLS3, II, pp. 125—126, 128—129.
- (55). W. E. A. Axon: A Gypsy Tract from the Seventeenth Century, JGLSn, I, p. 69; Rutland and Leicestershire Gypsy Tombs, JGLS3, VI, pp. 47—48;
Thompson: Illustrations of English Gypsy Law, JGLS3, IX, pp. 163—165;
E. O. Winstedt: Gypsy Initiations and Expulsions, JGLSn, II, p. 185 (Ns & Qs);
- (56). D. MacRitchie: Gypsy Nobles, JGLSn, I, pp. 107—109.
- (57). H. T. Crofton: Early Annals of the Gypsies in England, JGLSo, I, p. 8;
Winstedt: Gypsy Parliaments, JGLSn, II, pp. 271—272.
- (58). Thompson: Law, JGLS3, IX, p. 153. From Crabb: The Gipsies' Advocate, (3rd. ed., London, 1832), p. 27;
Thompson: Polity, JGLS3, II, p. 116. From Borrow: The Zincali, introduction.
- (59). Thompson: Gypsy Marriage in England, JGLS3, VI, p. 157;
Winstedt: Forms and Ceremonies, JGLSn, II, p. 357. From Simson: History of the Gypsies.
- (60). W. Ferguson: Gypsy Punishments, JGLS3, XVI, p. 148 (Ns & Qs);
J. Myers: The Punishment of Infidelity, JGLSn, V, p. 312 (Ns & Qs);
Thompson: Law, JGLS3, IX, pp. 153—160;
Thompson: Gypsy Marriage in England, JGLS3, VI, pp. 155—158;
Thompson: Polity, JGLS3, II, p. 114;
Winstedt: Forms and Ceremonies, JGLSn, II, p. 357.
- (61). Thompson: Law, JGLS3, IX, pp. 160—163;
Winstedt: Gypsy Initiations and Expulsions, JGLSn, II, p. 185 (Ns en Qs).
- (62). Thompson: Law, JGLS3, IX, pp. 165—167.
- (63). Gypsies as Highwaymen and Footpads, JGLS3, VI, p. 72;
Thompson: Law, JGLS3, IX, p. 157;
Thompson: Polity, JGLS3, II, p. 114.
- (64). Thompson: Law, JGLS3, IX, p. 158;
Thompson: Polity, JGLS3, II, p. 114.
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THE GYPSIES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

I. 1. The Gypsies in America can be divided into two main groups, the sedentary and the nomad Gypsies. The nomad Gypsies of America are subdivided into two groups, the small group of the 'Macvaya' and the large group which is generally called 'Kalderas'. Many groups of different origin may be remarked among the sedentary Gypsies, so long as they are groups and not just families only. The divergencies among these groups or families are mainly based on differences of origin and in this respect, furthermore, differences of speech, customs, occupations, etc. are to be noted. Thus, British Romanichels (Irish, Scottish, English, Welsh Gypsies), Hungarian, Russian, Roumanian, Slovak, Ruthenian, Serbian, German, French, etc. Gypsies can be identified (65).

I. 2. Among the nomad Gypsies relations between the 'Macvaya' and the 'Kalderas' are scant but not hostile; the 'Macvaya' constituting the most real and original Gypsies among them. The nomad American Gypsies are held together by their Gypsy tribunal or 'Romani Kris'. The nomads have no relations with the sedentary Gypsies. — Relations between the different groups of sedentary Gypsies which were originally infrequent have become closer and better since the differences of origin etc. between them are disappearing gradually under the influence of their American environment and their increasing assimilation to it. Although, the original Gypsy immigrants still keep closely together living in the same quarter of a town, the younger generations entertain much closer relations with other Gypsies than their parents who limit their connexions to business only. Thus, the actual situation among the sedentary Gypsies discloses a new type of all American Gypsies who are becoming rapidly ungypsylike and regular American citizens (66).

II. 1. Not much is known about the structure of the groups of wandering American Gypsies. The different groups recogniz-

able among them are based on (patrilineal) relationship and they have much resemblance with extended families. It appears that they subdivide themselves into groups of 20 to 30 patriarchal families (Cf. ch. I., The Family, The Gypsies in U. S. A., pp. 80 sqq.). — The sedentary Gypsies often live all together in the neighbourhood of each other in the same part of a town, each family or group of families, however, keeping to itself (67).

II. 2. a. The nomad Gypsies in America have no real chief invested with power and authority. Among them, the head of the family is its supreme chief but he is often obliged to share his power with his wife (cf. ch. I, The Family, The Gypsies in U. S. A.). In case of difficulties with the law a group gets together to organize the release of an offender, and they put up monies jointly to pay for a lawyer or to bribe the police. The leader of such action when conversing with non-Gypsies often tells them that he is the 'King' of the Gypsies but in reality he has no power at all and his authority is restricted to the settlement of the case in point and it often happens that he is deprived of his office by the other Gypsies because he is suspected of using the money for his own needs. Another type of leaders among these Gypsies is their spokesman who acts for them in case of business-transactions with non-Gypsies, for example for the renting of a camping-ground or for the negotiation of joint labour. But again he has no real authority or power over his fellow tribesmen (68).

In olden days, however, different tribes must have had their 'Kings'. The early German Gypsies in Pennsylvania had at the time of their arrival in America (1750) two 'Kings'; the Einsich family which is still represented to-day also claims to have a 'King' to-day just as formerly (69). — 'King' Kis Mihajlo who has been mentioned already in the paragraph on the South Eastern Balkans (Ch. III, III, p. 143) emigrated in 1880 to America. A part of the nomad American Gypsies who mainly originated from the same parts of Europe subjected itself to his authority (70). — In another instance the coronation of Gypsy Queen Matilda II of English Gypsy origin is mentioned near Dayton (Ohio) in 1888. In the records of this event it is stated that she was absolute

ruler over all Gypsies in America but this statement, however, is not in accordance with the facts which may be noted from the instance of King Kis Mihajlo's whose reign fell in the same period (71).

The sedentary Gypsies do not acknowledge a 'King' or a leader with the exception perhaps of a business representative for their dealings with non-Gypsies. Among the Gypsy musicians the 'primas' is the leader of the orchestra as well as its manager (72).

II. 2. b. In the last century in America meetings of Gypsies were known of. It seems, however, that they were merely shows for the benefit of the non-Gypsy public and not Gypsy assemblies where Gypsy problems and affairs were discussed (73).

III. Among the nomad American Gypsies a Gypsy tribunal or 'Romani Kris' decides on disputes "arising from marriage annulments, accusations of theft, and claims for money due from communal holdings or work done in common". Furthermore, the tribunal decides on breaches of Gypsy law and uncleanness taboos which are often punished with lasting or temporal exclusion. Exclusion may even follow automatically without a tribunal having assembled.

In case of minor infringements, for example, in the observance of uncleanness taboos which are judged according to the degree of defilement involved temporal exclusion may be the measure taken against the culprit who himself has also become unclean by his error. At a 'Romani Kris' he may be reinstated in the Gypsy community after he has paid a fine of food and drink to the members of the tribunal and afterwards a feast is generally held. — It is customary for the Gypsies to assist each other when in need as has been already noted above. It is the custom, too, for them to arrange their own affairs among each other and it is easy to understand from this point of view that it is considered ungypsylike and 'disgraceful' to bring Gypsy cases before a non-Gypsy court.

A 'Romani Kris' at which gathering no women are allowed is composed of all adult men of the group or groups. President of the tribunal, called 'o baro', is a man "of influence and per-

suasion" known for his fairness or perhaps only for his physical strength. He is selected by the contesting parties by mutual agreement. The power of the president is limited and he only can influence the tribunal which generally assembles at his home. From this and from the fact that the verdict must be unanimous "including the adhesion of the litigants" and from the restricted power of "moral persuasion" of the tribunal itself it follows that many trials can not be terminated and are often adjourned in consequence.

If at a trial no witnesses can be brought forward the accused and the accuser have to swear on a candle or on iron, as in India, or by a dead ancestor to the truthfulness of their statements of innocence or guilt (74).

Notes.

- (65). Prof. L. Brown: *The Gypsies in America*, JGLS3, VIII, pp. 147—157;
G. B. Oujevolk: *The Gypsies of Brooklyn in 1934*, JGLS3, XIV, pp. 121—122.
 - (66). Cf. Brown: *The Macvaya in California*, JGLS3, XV, pp. 72—78;
Brown: *The Gypsies in America*, JGLS3, VIII, pp. 145—171;
A. A. Marchbin: *The Gypsies of Western Pennsylvania*, JGLS3, XII, pp. 205—210;
Oujevolk: *op. cit.*, JGLS3, XIV, pp. 121—126;
H. W. Shoemaker: *Origins of the Pennsylvanian German Gypsies*, JGLS3, VIII, pp. 181—183.
 - (67). Brown: *The Gypsies in America*, JGLS3, VIII, pp. 158—160;
Marchbin: *op. cit.*, JGLS3, XII, pp. 205—210;
Oujevolk: *op. cit.*, JGLS3, XIV, pp. 121—126.
 - (68). Brown: *The Gypsies in America*, JGLS3, VIII, p. 159.
 - (69). Shoemaker: *Gypsies and Gypsy Lore in the Pennsylvanian Mountains*, an address, JGLS3, III, pp. 46—47 (rev).
 - (70). F. W. Brepohl: *Nikolaus Mihajlo der Kleine*, JGLSn, IV, pp. 48—49.
 - (71). *Coronation Ceremony in Ohio*, (*Ayrshire Argus*, 2nd Nov. 1888), JGLSo, I, pp. 174—175.
 - (72). Marchbin: *op. cit.*, JGLS3, XII, pp. 208—209.
 - (73). E. O. Winstedt: *Gypsy Parliaments*, JGLSn, II, p. 273.
 - (74). Brown: *The Gypsies in America*, JGLS3, VIII, pp. 162—164;
T. W. Thompson: *Illustrations of English Gypsy Law*, JGLS3, IX, pp. 168—169.
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COMMENTARY.

I. 1. 2. The larger groupings: Different groups (1). Relations between different groups (2). Cf. pp. 132—133, 134—136, 146, 149, 151, 157, 162.

Comparing the different groupings of Gypsies and their relations among each other in the countries studied above one division of the Gypsies is distinctly noticeable. This division of the Gypsies in nomads and sedentaries can be made in every country accounted. In Serbia, there are only few nomad Gypsies to be found because in this country the Gypsies are compelled to settle down. In Germany and England, no mention is made of sedentary Gypsies but this does not prove that they do not exist here. It seems more probable that they have not been studied because they no longer possessed that Gypsy quality 'par excellence' of being a migrational people. The Coppersmith Gypsies are all nomads, although, it is almost certain that they have lost many of their members who have settled down at one time or another.

It must be noted that in all countries considered, the divergencies between nomad and sedentary Gypsies are very great. These differences are not only of an external nature but are also evinced in moral distinctions. Nomad Gypsies feel a great contempt for the sedentary Gypsies who have abandoned Gypsy ways by settling down because they have given up roaming. With the growing duration of a settled life the sedentaries forget more and more all specific Gypsy customs, retaining at last as the sole reminders of their former Gypsy life, their darker complexion and their typical Gypsy features.

On their part, the sedentary Gypsies have the same feeling of disdain for their nomad brethren. But the sedentaries do realize, in a way, that they are no longer real Gypsies because they speak of the nomads as Gypsies or, as in Hungary, 'Rom'. They regard the nomads as a shameful section of their relations, as men who live in poverty and who are dishonest. But at the same time,

they have some kind of admiration and of fear for the nomad Gypsies who are surrounded by mystery and of whom long ago they were part. In themselves they still feel the restlessness of the untutored ever wandering Gypsy. Often the differences between nomad and sedentary Gypsies are still further accentuated by difference of speech; the settled Gypsies no longer speaking the Gypsy language.

From a comparison of the nomad Gypsies in the different countries studied it is seen that they do not form a unity at all. On the contrary, they are split up everywhere into different groups which in their turn are divided into still smaller groups. A first division of the nomad Gypsies is rendered possible when the differences of origin are taken into account. Such divisions become very apparent in Serbia and Germany where relations between the different Gypsies are rare or non-existent, especially in Germany where the German Gypsies or 'Sinti' have only contempt for other Gypsies who arrived later in that country.

In Serbia, it is noted that the Gypsies have still a certain sentiment of community because they show a preference to live in each other's vicinity which is the beginning of mutual relations. — Many of these original groups or tribes can be subdivided into regional groups each group having its own roaming districts which cannot be extended without danger of irritating the neighbouring group. From this it can be seen that many nomad Gypsies do not wander aimlessly but on the contrary that they have their own specific territories. Large gatherings of Gypsies are forbidden in most countries since the last century. This has caused the Gypsies to subdivide themselves again into small groups of a few families who as a rule are related to each other. The inter-relations of these regional groups are often very slight each having its own life and interests, although many of them originally belonged to the same tribe. At regular intervals or when conditions allow it different groups belonging to the same tribe or other larger group assemble to discuss tribal affairs or to arrange matters of Gypsy law and jurisdiction. Sometimes, no connexions exist at all between different groups of nomad Gypsies because one considers the other group as unclean. — Further divisions are possible when based on the different

occupations of the groups nearly each one having a specific trade. — Another division, this time based on religion, is only of occasional importance because the Gypsies rarely have a religion to which they honestly adhere. Yet in the Balkans such division is possible as in Serbia and Bulgaria where distinction is made between Mohammedan and Christian Orthodox Gypsies. Inter-relations of the Mohammedan Gypsies in Bulgaria are even furthered by their faith because it permits them all to speak Turkish. On the other hand, it must be noted that entire groups of Gypsies adopt a religion and that each group remains distinguishable when considered from the point of view of origin, region, occupation, and language. — Of course, the differentiation of groups of Gypsies is also possible when based on language and custom. But such division overlaps with that based on origin.

It may be concluded that the different groups of nomad Gypsies have only few relations with each other. To-day, they do not show animosity towards one another but, incidentally, only disdain.

The sedentary Gypsies can be subdivided according to their origin, language, customs, occupations, religion, etc. Relations between the different groups of sedentary Gypsies are mainly governed by the degree of their comprehension of each other's language and customs. Differences between them tend to decrease with the duration of their settlement in one and the same place. Especially, in America the younger generations mix with each other and assimilate themselves easily to their local environment. Modern civilization in America, as in Western Europe as well, does not induce people to live outside or apart from society. The original immigrated groups are not wholly influenced by it but their children and grand-children tend more and more to conform to society and to detach themselves from the original group. Although this process of assimilation and disintegration among the sedentary Gypsies is rapid in Western Europe and in America it is slow in the Balkans where sedentary life allows a Gypsy to live largely according to his own Gypsy ways. But here, again, many sedentaries give up their original customs and accept the mode of life of their non-Gypsy neighbours. It appears then that the nomad way of life largely protects the Gypsies against outer influences and that as soon as they give up wandering and settle

down or are forced to do so they become susceptible in a high degree to outer influences. This assumption is strengthened, for example, by the 'Vatrasi' in Roumania who were formerly Gypsy slaves not permitted to wander and who are sedentaries nowadays and have given up all Gypsy ways.

Among all Gypsies and especially among the sedentaries, the Gypsy musicians form a class apart. There are only a few Gypsies who hold musicians in contempt and they mostly are regarded as a higher kind of Gypsies as the Gypsy aristocracy in fact. On the other hand, the Gypsy musicians one hears playing in a café in a Balkan town or elsewhere in Europe do not have much of the real Gypsy in them any more. The music they play is Hungarian, Roumanian, Serbian, or some other national folk-music interpreted in their way. As a rule, they have forgotten Romani and Gypsy customs. They are no true Gypsies any more but professional musicians, nevertheless, there is nobody else who can play their music as they do. Any non-Gypsy who plays the same music only achieves a poor and mechanical imitation of it. Almost all Gypsy musicians have entirely assimilated themselves to non-Gypsy life and they live in a vacuum between the non-Gypsies and the Gypsies. The non-Gypsies regard them as Gypsies and musicians belonging to a (lower) class of artists while the other Gypsies look upon them as those of their kindred who have attained the highest social status in contemporary Gypsy society. The Gypsy musicians on their part try to conform to the way of life of their non-Gypsy public and they do not desire to have much to do with other Gypsies.

Results (Summary).

1. In all countries the Gypsies can be divided into sedentaries and nomads. Relations between these two kinds of Gypsies are quite or almost inexistent and mutual contempt prevails between them. The nomad Gypsies reproach the sedentaries with having given up the Gypsy language, Gypsy ways and customs. The sedentary Gypsies regard their nomad brethren as a lower class of Gypsies but, at the same time, they realize subconsciously that they themselves are no true Gypsies any longer.

2. The nomad Gypsies may be subdivided in groups or tribes of different origin. Gypsies of different origin have generally either none or few relations with each other. The 'national' Gypsies of a country often have contempt for other foreign Gypsies.
3. The large groups of Gypsies of different origin can be divided into small regional groups. Formerly, a large group or tribe had also its own territory but more recently large gatherings of Gypsies have been forbidden in most countries. Relations between these small regional groups are few and far between each living its own life in its own territory. Relations are often non-existent because uncleanness considerations make them tabooed. — From the above it may be seen that the wanderings of the Gypsies are not of an aimless character.
4. Other divisions of the Gypsies are possible when based on language and customs which may be connected with their origin, or when based on their occupations. Division of the Gypsies based on religion is possible in some instances, as well. It shows that relations between different Gypsies of the same religion are strengthened by the bond of a common language (Turkish speaking Mohammedan Gypsies in Bulgaria and Serbia).
5. The sedentary Gypsies can be divided in the main according to their origin, language, and customs. It is seen that different Gypsies have a feeling of oneness because they settle down in each other's neighbourhood. Relations between settled Gypsies of different origin are few and restricted to business matters in the first generations which have become sedentary and social intercourse among them is governed by differences in origin and language. The younger generations, however, mix freely and thus create a new type of Gypsies.
6. The sedentary Gypsies are much influenced by their non-Gypsy social environment. The influence of modern civilization in Western Europe and America speeds up the process of assimilation because in these countries the disintegration of the sedentary Gypsies is very great. At the same time, this influence is much weaker in the Balkans where the sedentary Gypsies can largely continue to live according to

their own ways and among each other. But here, too, they slowly adopt the non-Gypsy ways of their environment, which do not differ as much from theirs as in Western Europe. Only nomad life enables the Gypsies to protect themselves against or at any rate retard the process of assimilation to modern civilization.

7. The Gypsy musicians form a class apart, the aristocracy among the Gypsies. They live between the non-Gypsies to whom they want to assimilate themselves and the Gypsies for whom they cherish contempt. The Gypsy musicians have no specific Gypsy qualities, their music is not Gypsy but national folk-music which they play in a way, however, that cannot be imitated by a non-Gypsy musician.

II. 1. Organization of groups: Structure of groups. (Cf. pp. 133, 136, 146—147, 149, 152, 157—158, 162—163.)

The information gathered about the structure of the larger groupings of the Gypsies is very indefinite and not clear. It appears that all larger groups of the Gypsies, to-day, are based on blood-relationship through paternal and maternal lines or solely through the paternal one. In Serbia, no larger groups than the patriarchal family have been found but in other countries groups of Gypsies have been observed which consist of some closely related families.

An exception is made by the nomad American Gypsies who wander in groups of 20 to 30 families which are related one with the other through the paternal line. The great open spaces of America and conditions in that country are still favourable to nomad life.

The sedentary Gypsies have no other definite groups other than the family. The only other uniting formations arise from neighbourhood, common professions, language, and customs but they do not possess any definite characteristics.

Formerly, however, the Gypsies were also organized in larger groups. This is seen in the cases of the Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans, Germany, England, and the Coppersmiths. These Gypsies were divided originally into different tribes who in their turn were subdivided into bands which were organized in

(maternal) clans composed of 10 to 30 families, new clans being formed when the original ones were becoming too large. These clans were again subdivided into two exogamous moieties.

None of these groups corresponds entirely to the definition of the term by which they are denominated but on the other hand it should be kept in mind that great differences exist in the use of these terms. Furthermore, this is not the place to discuss sociological dogmatics. A precise determination based on a dogmatic definition of the different groups recognizable among the Gypsies is impossible not only because evidence on the subject is lacking but also because it would be impossible to force a real set of circumstances into a theoretical entity. Thus, the terms used above must be understood in their broadest sense.

Among the Gypsies, the tribe as a large endogamous group composed of bands, clans, and related family-groups which have common language and customs, is to-day still more or less to be recognized in all countries studied. — It is probable that the Gypsies arrived in Europe in large tribal groups which divided themselves into bands that is to say in nomad groups of Gypsies roaming in territories on which other bands were not allowed.

To-day, no bands of Gypsies, in this sense, are to be found any more whilst the remnants of it are to be seen in the differences between the different local Gypsies in Germany or in the small groups of Gypsies living and wandering inside a special territory. — The organization of the Gypsies into 'maternal' clans, that is to say, into relatively independent groups of related persons (common ancestor) can still be noted faintly to-day, although, its character of a unit has disappeared. The small groups of closely related families which have amalgamated are the present Gypsy clans and among them a trend to seclusion into single families is noticeable, more especially, when the Gypsies become sedentary. The seclusion of the Gypsies into single families often leads to their complete isolation from Gypsy life as is to be seen among the sedentary Gypsies.

These Gypsy clans are often subdivided into two exogamous moieties which is each composed of a (few) related families. Each of these moieties forms a unit entertaining close relations with the other half living either on its own or else together with

it. (Cf. Also Ch. I and II: The Family). — In the case of the groups of related families noted among the nomad American Gypsies these cannot be styled as 'clans' but as 'gens' being the equivalent of them when based on patriliney (75).

Returning to the present situation among the Gypsies it is to be noted that they live to-day in groups of closely related families where only vague remnants of a former larger and more definite organization are discernible, but more clearly, however, among the nomad Gypsies and to a lesser degree or not at all among the sedentaries.

Finally, the organization of the Gypsies offers some analogies with the situation as found among the Gypsy-like wandering tribes of India. The Indian nomads can be divided into different races and tribes. For example, the 'Bhantus' can be divided into different endogamous tribal groups which are subdivided into a number of 'gotras' or clans. Furthermore, they live and wander in 'bands' with their families. Last of all, the whole race is divided into two exogamous divisions named 'Mala' and 'Bidu' (76).

It must be noted that among the Gypsies in the South Eastern Balkans and in England, the clans are subdivided into two exogamous moieties or that the clans themselves are exogamous but that not the whole tribe is thus subdivided. Then it is possible that the Gypsies have brought this 'dual organization' with them from India and that they have restricted it afterwards to smaller groups like the Gypsy tribe and the Gypsy clans. The question remains open whether this 'dual organization' has arisen by bisecting the original group or by doubling it with another group. The analogies are striking but further investigations should be made on the subject by a specialist in both fields. (Cf. Ch. II: The Family, Commentary).

Results (Summary).

1. To-day, all Gypsies live in small groups of related families. Relationship is traced through the maternal and paternal lines or through one (paternal) of them.

2. Generally, the nomad Gypsies live and wander in such small groups of closely related families while the sedentary Gypsies tend more and more to live in single, or on occasions in extended families.
3. In Serbia, the largest group of Gypsies is constituted by the patriarchal family. It should be remembered that in Serbia the Gypsies are all sedentaries.
4. In America, the nomad Gypsies live in groups of 20 to 30 patrilinear related families. These groups may be styled 'gens' or 'paternal clans'.
5. Formerly, as it could be seen in the South Eastern Balkans, Germany, and England the Gypsies were organized in large endogamous tribal groups which in turn may have been exogamous themselves; tribal endogamy and clan exogamy often being combined.
6. These tribal groups were divided formerly into bands bound to their own territories. More recently, these bands were forced to split because in most countries no large groups of Gypsies were allowed. Small Gypsy groups which wander only in special regions may be considered to-day the last remnants of the former Gypsy bands.
7. The Gypsies originally subdivided themselves moreover into maternal clans each forming a unit. — To-day, the Gypsy clan may be recognized in the small groups of closely related Gypsy families in which the family spirit predominates.
8. Once upon a time, the Gypsy clan was often subdivided into two exogamous moieties which occasionally formed independent units of a single related family or more.
9. Comparison with Gypsy-like wandering tribes of India shows some similarity of organization. There, endogamous tribal groups are to be noted which are subdivided into 'gotras' or clans. Moreover, it has been observed that they wander in groups of some families. Lastly, it has been noted that a whole race subdivides itself into two exogamous moieties. It is possible that the Gypsies have restricted this subdivision to the Gypsy tribe and the Gypsy clan.

II. 2. a. b. Organization of groups: Authority in the groups, Chief or headman (a), Assembly (b). Cf. pp. 133, 136—141, 147, 149—150, 152—153, 158, 163—164.

Studying leadership in the different groups of nomad Gypsies it is found that the small groups of related Gypsy families have no real leader who could be recognized as such. Among all of them a kind of chief is found who has no real or only very limited power while his authority is based on his moral influence on the members of his group or on his mere physical strength and by virtue of these qualities he is recognized as the natural leader of his group if he is not elected or has been nominated to the leadership by a hereditary right. Thus, in those small groups of related Gypsy families the oldest man or the powerful head of one of the families may be the leader. To-day, in the groups of Gypsies, restricting themselves more and more to one or a few families, the head of the family has become the sole leader if leadership may still be spoken of.

The functions of the leader of the small Gypsy groups are also very restricted. He directs the wanderings, he decides on the new camping-ground and he is the representative of the Gypsies in their dealings with the non-Gypsies in connexion with work and local affairs. For this work done in the interest of his group the leader occasionally makes the members of it pay him back either with labor or in money. As a rule the leader is also judge or arbiter in small internal affairs concerning Gypsy law. But in all cases of general interest to his whole group he has not the power to decide upon them alone; in such instances he must consult all members of his group to take a collective decision.

This kind of chief of a small group of related Gypsy families is to-day perhaps best recognizable in the South Eastern Balkans where the 'Saibidjo' in Transylvania and the 'Vataf' (or 'Giude' or 'Sales') in Roumania still have some real authority. In Germany, his influence is already much more indefinite while in England no leader is to be noted. In Serbia and among the nomad American Gypsies, no leader is found excepting the head of the patriarchal family. Among the Coppersmith Gypsies, the same situation could be noted: a leader with very limited power

accepted by the other members of the group, with the head of the family being its real chief.

Sometimes, women have great influence on the common affairs. Among the South Eastern Balkan and German Gypsies, old women often keep the group together and their influence is based on their great knowledge of group and tribal affairs and on the special position they have or had in motherright and matrilineal society. But the same great influence of women has been noted elsewhere which is then based on the important and often exclusive part they take in the economic welfare of a family (e.g. among the nomad American Gypsies).

Formerly, the Gypsies had also a tribal chief who was the head of all the different smaller groups. Among the Gypsies in the South Eastern Balkans, in Germany, and in England, a 'Buljubasa', 'Voyvode', 'Duke', or even a 'King' has been noted. He was elected from a family of Gypsy chiefs and he had to be a man of mature age who possessed authority over the others. That the office of 'Voyvode' was hereditary in the paternal line, as Wlislöcki asserted, need not be in contradiction with his election. The 'Voyvode' was elected from a 'Voyvode's' family, that is to say his own family. Also the paternal descent as counted in the case of a 'Voyvode' is not contrary to the observed original motherright society among the Transylvanian Gypsies but on the contrary it has often been noted in such society (77).

The privileges of families of Gypsy headmen like the right to count patrilineal descent, which was forbidden to ordinary Gypsies, and the possibility that at one time a 'jus primae noctis' existed among the Gypsies, have been mentioned frequently already in the previous chapters.

At the time of their arrival in Europe the Gypsies were headed by 'Voyvodes' who exercised great power. Their power, however, has since decreased in the first place because in the 16th century already they were controlled by an 'Over-Voyvode' or simply by the State and in the second place because many Gypsies disintegrated from the original group constituting new groups or else settling down. At last his functions were restricted to legislation and jurisdiction, he was the judge or only the president of the Gypsy tribunal which decided on matters of Gypsy law.

Occasionally, two leading persons have been noted (Germany): a chief directing the wandering and political affairs and a judge who was authoritative on Gypsy law.

During the last centuries, Gypsy 'Voyvodes' and 'Kings' were still to be noted in the South Eastern Balkans, Germany, England and in America. To-day, however, it is only in the South Eastern Balkans that a tribal chief is still recognizable to whom the members of his group pay taxes but who does not interfere with internal affairs. But here as in Germany, the office of Gypsy chief is disappearing. In England and America no Gypsy 'Kings' are to be noted any longer. The references to Gypsy 'Kings' which appear occasionally in the press apply to the last vestiges of a dying institution or to an attempt by the Gypsies to make some advertisement for themselves.

The final authority among the nomad Gypsies with which the Gypsy chiefs and leaders originally shared their power belongs to the group itself. It is probable that affairs of general interest are, and were, sometimes discussed in common or in a council which is composed either of all members of the group or else only of the men or of their representatives. Among the Transylvanian Gypsies, the small groups had their meetings at which all its members participated whilst a tribal council composed of all 'Saibidjos' of the groups belonging to the tribe and the 'Voyvode' deliberated on tribal affairs in the presence of all members of the tribe. Although nothing is stated about a council of the members of the smaller groups living in the other countries, it may be assumed, considering the few powers of its leaders, that important decisions were taken or discussed collectively. The Coppersmith Gypsies used to decide on tribal matters in a council or 'diwan' composed of all the men of the group, women having no part in the proceedings. — Meetings of different groups of Gypsies have been noted during the last century. At such Gypsy 'Parliaments' tribal affairs were discussed. To-day, large meetings of this kind have become a rarity and if they are held it is for the purpose of organizing the Gypsies in a representative body in order to obtain recognition by the State (Roumania) or, on other occasions, when they merely make a Gypsy show of it for the edification of non-Gypsies (America) (78).

At a very early date the Gypsies were already subject to the State which in the South Eastern Balkans, Germany, and Scotland was represented by an 'Over-Voyvode' (15th—16th centuries), a non-Gypsy nobleman. The privileges accorded to the Gypsies previously were abolished and the independence of the Gypsies as well as the authority of their leaders was restricted. With these restrictions imposed on the Gypsies began the decline of the power of their tribal leaders. In Roumania, during the last century, the existence of such an 'Over-Voyvode' was still to be noted. The 'Over-Voyvode' had great power over the Gypsies because they were in a state of slavery. Since their emancipation the Gypsies have come under State control just like all other citizens. Until 1884, a non-Gypsy tax collector was to be noted in Serbia who originally also wielded some judicial power over them. In other countries the Gypsies came under the control of the State and its police much sooner which forced them to subdivide themselves more and more into small groups.

To-day, the Gypsies often have a Gypsy representative for their relations and business-dealings with the non-Gypsies. This Gypsy representative, however, does not possess any power over the other Gypsies and his authority is restricted to such dealings only. Thus, the Roumanian Gypsies have their former 'Buljubasa' who is their representative towards the local authorities. Among the Serbian Gypsies it is the 'Kmet' who fulfills these functions. The nomad American Gypsies have a representative for their business-dealings. The 'primas' or the leader of a Gypsy orchestra holds a similar position. While playing the members of his orchestra follow his lead blindly but off duty he is just their representative and mere manager of the orchestra who is only its leader and who has no authority in matters not concerning its affairs. The 'King' of the Gypsy musicians is the one who plays the Gypsy music best, e.g. Magyari Imre in Hungary.

Among the Indian tribes the same absence of authority and lack of power of a leader is to be observed and decisions of general interest are taken at clan-gatherings (79). Although, this is a striking analogy it is impossible to ascribe the present organization of authority among the Gypsies to their pre-European ancestors. The different groups of Gypsies were, at their arrival

in Europe, definitely under the leadership of chiefs who were invested with real, although probably limited, power. The present situation among the Gypsies which is comparable to that found among Indian tribes, however, has been reached after the State or local institutions have forced the Gypsies for centuries to split up into small groups and have restricted the power of their chiefs.

Modern civilization especially has a disintegrating influence on the groups of Gypsies and strengthens the individuality of its component families. Among the Gypsies in England no real leadership is to be noted any longer while in Roumania where modern civilization has made less progress a leader has been noted albeit with very limited and decreasing power. The nomad Gypsies still live in small groups of closely related families whilst among the sedentaries such groups can no longer be identified. To conclude, authority among the Gypsies belongs to the head of a family who, among the nomad Gypsies, can extend his influence to some related families and who again, among the sedentary Gypsies, has confined it to his own family which may be of a patriarchal nature (Serbian, Coppersmith, nomad American Gypsies). The group of Gypsies is held together not by leadership but by the spirit of oneness and the community of its members.

Results (Summary).

1. Nowadays, the small groups of related Gypsy families have no real leader or chief. Among the nomad Gypsies, the head of the family shares his authority in the entire group with the heads of the other families who together compose the group. Among the sedentary Gypsies who live more in single families the father is the head of the family. — The small groups of Gypsies composed of one or more related Gypsies are guided and led by the spirit of community and oneness prevailing among its members.
2. Some kind of leadership was to be noted, originally, among the nomad Gypsies in their small groups of related families. It was assumed by a man whose authority was recognized by the members of his group by virtue of his moral influence

and (or) his physical strength but he did not possess any real power. His functions were the direction of the wanderings of his group and the representation of its interests towards the other Gypsies and non-Gypsies. He acted also as a judge in minor cases. — To-day, in Roumania as well as in Germany such kind of Gypsy leader is still to be noted although his influence is decreasing more and more. This kind of leadership was observed also among the Coppersmith Gypsies. Among the Serbian and nomad American Gypsies leadership is assumed by the head of the patriarchal family.

3. Women often have great influence on group and tribal affairs. This influence is based on their social position in original motherright society (Roumanian and German Gypsies) and on their economic position as bread-winners (nomad American Gypsies).
4. Formerly, each tribal group of Gypsies was headed by a chief ('Voyvode', 'King', 'Duke', etc.). He was elected from a chief's family. Originally, a Gypsy chief possessed great power which gradually became restricted through State control and disintegration of the group. Finally, his functions were limited to those of judge or mere president of the Gypsy tribunal. To-day, the election of a Gypsy 'King' has been noted occasionally in Eastern Europe. The office is dying out.
5. The real authority in the group belongs to-day to the community. At times, this collective authority is embodied in a council of which all men and women of the group are members (Transylvania) or composed of the men only (Coppersmiths). At such councils affairs of general interest are discussed and important decisions taken. But also this definitely organized body in Gypsy society is disappearing. — Formerly, large tribal meetings or Gypsy 'Parliaments' have been noted also where tribal affairs were discussed. To-day, a few so-called Gypsy Congresses have been noted, for example in Roumania, where the Gypsies tried to organize themselves and to obtain official recognition from the Government. Other Gypsy meetings noted are just commercial shows staged for the non-Gypsies.

6. Among the Gypsies of to-day, a Gypsy representative for their dealings with the non-Gypsies is often to be noted and who is only authorized to conduct specific transactions and possesses no influence or power beyond that. For example, the actual 'Buljubasa' in Roumania and the 'Kmet' in Serbia are Gypsy representatives to the local authorities. In America, Gypsy officials for special criminal cases (to obtain a release from the authorities) and for business dealings have been noted.
7. Among the Gypsy musicians, the 'primas' of the Gypsy orchestra has no power over the members of it outside of matters concerning the orchestra, only perhaps greater influence than others.
8. Very early already the Gypsies were controlled by the State which restricted the power of their chiefs and which tended to compel them to settle down. To this end, non-Gypsy noblemen or 'Over-Voyvodes' were nominated in the South Eastern Balkans, during the 16th century who controlled the (sedentary) Gypsies and who received taxes from them; this office has been noted up to the last century. The same non-Gypsy chiefs have been recorded in Germany (15th century) and in Scotland (16th century), no certainty has been obtained regarding their identity. In Serbia, an official non-Gypsy tax-collector ('Haraschlia') with judicial power over the Gypsies has been noted up to the end of the last century.
9. Comparison with Indian tribes shows the same absence of powerful individual and organized leadership and the existence of collective authority (clan gatherings) as is noted among the Gypsies. The analogy, however, is not conclusive. On the contrary, individual leadership has been noted among the former European Gypsies and it has declined only under the influence of disintegration and assimilation to non-Gypsy society, strengthened at first by State control and since the last century moreover by modern civilization.

III. Legislation and Jurisdiction. Cf. pp. 133, 141—144, 147—148, 150, 153—155, 158—160, 164—165.

Comparing the observance of Gypsy law among the Gypsies it is to be noted that the sedentary Gypsies do not live according to its tenets any more and that they have accepted non-Gypsy legislation. The nomad Gypsies, however, observe all still Gypsy law which practically has been restricted by non-Gypsy legislation and measures. Inside Gypsy society Gypsy laws are still observed in connection with internal Gypsy life.

Thus, a Gypsy may not steal from another Gypsy (South Eastern Balkans, Serbia, nomad American Gypsies), he must tell the truth to another Gypsy and may not cheat him (England), and a Gypsy has to help one who is in need (England, nomad American Gypsies). A Gypsy who has stolen from a tribesman must pay him back three to nine times the amount stolen in cash or in brandy (Transylvania), elsewhere he is whipped (Roumania). Theft from a non-Gypsy, however, is not considered to be a tort at all. A Gypsy who does not pay a debt at the appointed time must pay the double in money or in labor or he may even be expelled (England). —

In respect to marital life infidelity and adultery by a woman are severely punished. Formerly, a guilty woman was not only flogged but she was also mutilated, her hair was cut off, or her nose or some other part of her body was cut off or she was exhibited naked and banished afterwards (South Eastern Balkans, Serbia, England). To-day, only in Roumania has a case of punishment of infidelity by facial mutilation been recently noted (1937) on the whole, however, these kinds of punishment are disappearing (they are not even allowed by local laws on ill-treatment), banishment and exclusion from the Gypsy group have become the most severe penalties for it.

Adultery committed by a man was never adjudged very severely but, sometimes, it was punished by a shot in the arms or legs (South Eastern Balkans, Germany). On the other hand, it must be noted that often adultery and infidelity are entirely ignored. — Formerly, a marriage which was not concluded in Gypsy fashion was occasionally punished by exclusion (Transylvania). — Un-

observance of uncleanness taboos is judged by the degree of defilement. In cases which are not very serious a defiled person is declared as outlawed, sometimes including his entire family. He is, however, not excluded from his group but nobody may touch him, he must eat from his own plate and drink out of his own glass, and is considered to be an unclean person himself. After a certain time he is rehabilitated as a normal member of Gypsy society either automatically or by the chief or the tribunal (Germany, England, nomad American Gypsies). Severe breaches of uncleanness taboos are punished by exclusion and banishment from the group and from Gypsy society (*idem*, and South Eastern Balkans). — To-day, the heaviest punishment that can be inflicted on a Gypsy by his tribesmen is exclusion. An excluded Gypsy is obliged to wander alone without ever being able to return into Gypsy society.

Jurisdiction is effected by a tribunal which is generally presided over by the chief who acts as judge. Among the nomad American Gypsies who have no chief, a man of influence is selected as judge by common agreement of the contesting parties. Formerly, the judge may have had greater legal authority but his judicial power has been restricted not only by the State ('Over-Voyvodes', legislation) but also by the Gypsy tribunal with which he has to share power or to which he is even obliged to surrender it (South Eastern Balkans, Germany, England, nomad American Gypsies).

The tribunal and the jury, as a rule, are composed of men of mature age, or of the old men of the group, or of the heads of the groups or families. About the public at trials different evidence is to be noted. In the South Eastern Balkans and in Germany the sessions of the Gypsy tribunal were secret, although nothing is stated about Gypsy tribunals among other Gypsies, it must be assumed that some of them were public (England). Among the Coppersmith, German, some English, and the nomad American Gypsies no women were allowed at trials while in other instances, among the English Gypsies, women were present.

Witnesses are heard to ascertain the guilt of an accused person. In the South Eastern Balkans, an accused is sometimes found not guilty if he can round up more witnesses to certify his

innocence than his accuser can find to declare his guilt. Another method, also used if no witnesses are found (nomad American Gypsies), in use among the Gypsies to establish guilt is to make the accused swear his innocence, for example, on the instrument by which he lives or some other sacred thing. Finally, it is the jury which determines the guilt of an accused. The verdict is reached by drawing lots (? Coppersmith Gypsies) or by a majority of votes (Liebich: Germany) but it has been noted at the same time that among the German, English, and nomad American Gypsies only a unanimous verdict has validity. As a rule, after the verdict has been reached the president of the tribunal (= judge = chief) announces it and imposes the punishment.

Among the South Eastern Balkan and German Gypsies, blood revenge has been observed in some cases of personal quarrels or insults. Reconciliation, however, is made feasible when the opponents drink to each other's health. Among some English Gypsies, personal quarrels are fought out by the opponents who are reconciliated after they have shaken hands. In such cases the Gypsy tribunal exercises no influence.

Gypsy law is based on customs and conventions generally considered suitable by the members of Gypsy society. As long as transgressions of these customs and conventions are judged by public opinion and the community one cannot consider them as laws imposed on the members of Gypsy society but, in such case, they possess more the nature of rules the breach of which can be penalized as in a game but not punished. From the moment, however, that breaches of these rules are judged by a tribunal, that is to say by an institution especially set up for such purposes, rules are elevated to the level of laws which then are not only upheld by the community but, primarily, by its representative, the tribunal, which will inspire fear in the members of that community, i.e. in our case the Gypsy community. The same applies to the penalty of the breach of a rule which can be expiated and which penalty now becomes the final punishment for the transgression of a law imposed on the culprit by a judge.

In Gypsy society one finds that Gypsy law floats between rules (regulations, customs, conventions, traditions) and laws; between imposed penalties and punishments. The ambiguity of Gypsy law

is stressed furthermore by its occasional uneffectiveness. The very limited power delegated to a Gypsy judge often makes of him no more than a simple arbiter whose judgement is generally accepted because he is an honoured man of influence in the Gypsy community but this judgement does not need to be accepted. The unanimous verdict which must be given by a jury, which is composed of members of both disputing parties, also renders the effectiveness of Gypsy law dubious because when no such verdict is possible the case cannot be terminated the accused gets off free and the law has not been put into effect (80).

Comparison with Indian tribes in the field of legislation and jurisdiction should be promoted. The punishment of an adulterous wife by facial mutilation has been noted not only in India but also elsewhere and it is certainly not a specific Gypsy procedure. It seems that among the tribes in India tribunals are working which show analogies with the Gypsy tribunals but definite evidence is, however, lacking (81).

It has been seen that among the nomad Gypsies Gypsy law is still observed. It is to be noted furthermore that also the Coppersmith and the nomad American Gypsies still adhere to it while their organization of the family is quite different from that noted among the other nomad Gypsies (South Eastern Balkans, Germany, England). This fact may point to a common origin of all these Gypsies and to a common base of Gypsy legislation at a time not so far distant. The force which emanates from Gypsy law is demonstrated by the fact that among the sedentary Gypsies in the South Eastern Balkans the last recognized Gypsy authority was a Gypsy judge. But here, again, social environment and modern civilization have exercised their destructive influence. To-day, the sedentary Gypsies do not observe Gypsy law any longer and they conform to local non-Gypsy law as do all other citizens of the country in which they have settled down.

Results (Summary).

1. To-day, Gypsy law is still observed among the nomad Gypsies. The sedentary Gypsies do not live any more in accordance with it but they have conformed to local non-Gypsy law.

2. Nowadays, Gypsy law restricts itself to internal Gypsy affairs after, having been confined formerly by State control ('Over-Voyvodes', legislation, etc.) and its range has been limited by Gypsy disintegration.
3. According to Gypsy law a Gypsy may not rob another Gypsy, he has to repay a debt at a fixed place and time, he may not cheat a fellow-Gypsy, he must tell the truth, and he must help one who is in need. Unobservance of these laws is punished by a fine of several times the amount stolen or unpaid, or by forced labor, or by whipping, or even by exclusion. — Adultery and infidelity of a woman often is not taken into consideration at all but in other instances it is punished most severely by exclusion. It was punished, formerly, by facial mutilation (in Roumania even in 1937), exposure in the nude, etc. An adulterous husband is punished more rarely; once upon a time, he was shot in his arms or legs. — Unobservance of uncleanness taboos is punished according to the degree of defilement by measures ranging from temporary outlawry to lasting exclusion.
4. Among the nomad Gypsies, exclusion from Gypsy society is the severest punishment that can be inflicted on one of its members.
5. Jurisdiction is effected by a Gypsy tribunal presided over by a judge who is generally the chief of the group at the same time. Among the nomad American Gypsies, the judge is selected conjointly by the opposing parties.
6. Ab initio, a Gypsy judge had more power. To-day, he is obliged to share his power with the Gypsy tribunal. Moreover, non-Gypsy control (State, 'Over-Voyvodes', etc.) has largely reduced his power.
7. As a rule, the Gypsy tribunal is composed of men of mature age or of the old men of the group or of the heads of the families or groups. Among the South Eastern Balkan and German Gypsies, the trials are secret whilst at the trials of the Coppersmith, German, nomad American, and some of the English Gypsies no women are permitted to be present.
8. The guilt or innocence of an accused is occasionally established by a majority or a minority of witnesses produced by the

- accuser and the accused (South Eastern Balkans). In other instances, an accused is made to take an oath of innocence.
9. The verdict of a jury must be unanimous. It is afterwards announced by the chief who imposes the punishment (German, English, nomad American Gypsies). Among other Gypsies, the verdict was reached by a majority of votes (Liebich: Germany) or by drawing lots (? Coppersmiths).
 10. Occasionally, personal disputes are settled without recourse to a Gypsy court by blood revenge which, however, can be easily reconciled (South Eastern Balkan and German Gypsies), or by a fight (England).
 11. Gypsy law is ambiguous. It drifts between rules and regulations observed and controlled by Gypsy society and, laws imposed and supervised by a Gypsy tribunal. This ambiguity often causes the Gypsy law to be ineffective which is still further stressed by the very limited power with which a Gypsy judge is invested and the impossibility at times of reaching an unanimous verdict which eliminates the application of Gypsy law.
 12. Gypsy legislation, jurisdiction, and its organization show some analogies with that of Indian tribes but definite evidence on these points is lacking.
 13. The observance of Gypsy law has been noted among all nomad Gypsies including the nomad American and the Coppersmith Gypsies. This may point to a common base of origin and of legislation existing not so very long ago.
 14. The force of Gypsy law may be deduced from the fact that sedentary Gypsies recognize a Gypsy judge long after all other Gypsy functions were abolished soon after settlement.
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CONCLUSION.

To end this chapter it must be remarked that superficial comparison with wandering tribes in India allows a few analogies to be established which are, however, in no way sufficient to permit any conclusions to be drawn from them.

It has been seen that all nomad Gypsies have been able, more or less, to keep up their own organization. Under the pressure of the State in which they roam and under the influence of social environment they have limited the size of their groups to some related families, their inside organization has been partly abolished, and the power of Gypsy law has decreased. Nevertheless, the nomad Gypsies did and still do defend themselves against external influences. It appears then that, to-day, the nomad Gypsy family is the stronghold of Gypsy life where Gypsy traditions are still observed and in which Gypsy nature is reared and fashioned. But also in olden days the Gypsy family occupied a first place in Gypsy society the larger groups being founded for a great part on blood relationship.

On the other hand, among the sedentary Gypsies, nothing truly Gypsy, comparable to the nomads, is to be found. Here, the external influences of State and local (social) environment have been successful leaving few or no remnants of old Gypsy organization and legislation. In the foregoing chapter it has been seen that the sedentary Gypsy family already had few real Gypsy characteristics but in the case of Gypsy organization beyond that of the family almost none are left. Only in the Balkans where the influence of modern civilization is smaller, can some vestiges of the original organization and laws still be found.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE GYPSIES IN NON-GYPSY SOCIETY.

In the following chapter the place taken by the Gypsies in non-Gypsy society will be studied. Although, the nomad Gypsies live outside the sphere of life of the inhabitants of a country in which they are staying contact with it is of course inevitable. The relations of the Gypsies with the non-Gypsies become most frequent when the Gypsies are dependent on the others in some way or other. This is especially the case when the Gypsies desire to get something from their hosts, such as food, money, etc. In what way do the Gypsies earn a living, what are their occupations, do they obtain the goods needed in an honest or in a criminal manner? An investigation of these questions will not only provide an enumeration of their occupations but with it, the social and economical positions of the Gypsies in non-Gypsy society will be elucidated simultaneously.

The economic position of the Gypsies in non-Gypsy society, however, cannot be considered an exclusive criterion to justify or to explain the social attitudes taken by the non-Gypsies towards them. Indeed, the migratory characteristic of the Gypsies influences to a great extent the measures taken by the non-Gypsies against them. The presence of an unstable wandering people in a stable society, as far as it goes, must cause controversies to arise. To understand fully non-Gypsy attitudes it is necessary therefore to examine the migratory characteristics of the Gypsies.

Only after the occupations and the migrations of the Gypsies as well as their other characteristics have been studied it is possible to obtain a clear view of their position in non-Gypsy society and to understand the policy of the non-Gypsies towards them.

Accordingly, the following table will be observed:

- I. Occupations of the Gypsies.
 - 1. The nomad Gypsies.
 - 2. The sedentary Gypsies.
 - II. The migrations of the Gypsies.
 - III. The non-Gypsies and the Gypsies.
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THE GYPSIES IN BULGARIA.

I. 1. The Bulgarian Gypsies can be divided according to their occupation each tribe having a trade-name. It is possible that the present members of a tribe no longer follow the trade by which they are designated but in such case it may be assumed that their ancestors did exercise it.

Honest occupations of the nomad Gypsies:

Mohammedan Gypsies: The sieve-makers have abandoned their original occupation for horse-dealing. They belong to the same tribe as the sedentary sieve-makers. They have some business relations with the criminal comb-makers whom they provide with horse-licenses. They are not beggars. — The 'Demirdjis' are iron-workers. By other Gypsies and by themselves they are called 'Aidia'. — The 'Zagundjis' have no occupation except that the men occasionally are horse-dealers. Their women are beggars of the worst kind, dressed for the occasion in their poorest and dirtiest clothes. The men are very lazy. At harvest-time they work in the fields.

Christian Gypsies: The 'Pletosi' or long-haired Gypsies are Coppersmiths. They are very rich and not criminal. — The 'Burgudjis' (also called 'Parpulia') make gimlets and shepherds' crooks. — The 'Rudaris' make small articles in wood, such as spoons (hence they are also called 'Kashikdjis'), and troughs (hence 'Kopanaris' or 'Koritaris'). They also breed buffaloes. At harvest-time, they reap the corn. There are among them no beggars, thieves, and fortune-tellers to be found.

Criminal occupations of the nomad Gypsies:

Mohammedan Gypsies: The 'Dinikovlars' breed buffaloes by which their carts are drawn. The men are also horse-dealers. The women are extremely thievish.

Christian Gypsies: The 'Grebenaris' were originally comb-

makers. This trade, however, is not their real occupation. In reality, the men are horse-thieves. Horse-stealing is carried out on a large scale by organized bands and in cooperation with Roumanian bands of the same tribe. As every horse in Bulgaria must be registered and its owner must have a horse-license describing the animal, horse-stealing is very much complicated. But difficulties are overcome by using forged licenses which these Gypsies obtain from Bulgarians or from the Moslem sievemakers already mentioned. Their women are beggars and chickenthieves who go around in couples. It is considered disgraceful not to steal. Generally, they buy or steal their food but they seldom beg it. Some comb-makers who more recently arrived also work in the fields but they are equally criminal. In the Roumanian Dobrudja some Moslem nomads have been noted who belong to the same tribe; some Christian bear-leaders have been also recorded as belonging to the comb-makers' tribe. Both groups are honest. The Bulgarian comb-makers originate from Roumania which country they have left because the laws against them and police control were too severe while in Bulgaria the authorities and the laws are milder.

I. 2. Honest occupations of the sedentary Gypsies:

Mohammedan Gypsies: The sieve-makers ('Kalburdjis') belong to the same race as the nomad Moslem sieve-makers. The men work in the towns as porters and carriers, the women as housemaids, charwomen, washer-women, etc. They are honest and clean. At harvest-time, the men and some of the women work in the fields. — The tanners ('Kalaidjis') have the same occupations as the sieve-makers mentioned above. They have mixed largely with the Turkish population. Some of them are rich. — The 'Drindaris' or wool-cleaners are to-day the Gypsy musicians ('Calgidjis') of Bulgaria. Their musical occupation has been the reason why many of them have settled down in the towns where they play in cafés, etc. The girls are often dancers. The less successful among them wander in summer from village to village; a great number of them are field-workers and reapers ('Kosacis'). They are very numerous. — The 'Dawuldjis' and 'Mehteris' are the lowest ranking Gypsy musicians; they are drum- and pipeplayers. —

The 'Sepetdjis' were originally tanners; to-day, they make baskets. — The 'Hasiedjis' are related to the 'Sepetdjis' and they, originally, had the same trade. Nowadays, they make rush-carpet. — The 'Demirdjis' work in iron. Many of them have adopted Turkish ways.

Christian Gypsies: The sieve-makers are closely related to the Moslem sieve-makers and they speak the same language. They imitate the Bulgarians. — The coffee-pot makers ('Djezvedjis') of Shumla are related by tongue to the Christian sieve-makers. — The 'Nalbandjis' are horse-shoe makers.

Criminal occupations of the sedentary Gypsies:

Some of the nomad comb-makers mentioned above have settled down but they have not given up their criminal ways. — The Christian sedentary Gypsies of Rustchuk are very criminal. They tell a peasant or a villager that they can make out of a certain sum of money a much greater amount if they let them bury it or dispose of it in another way. Inevitably, when the victim looks for his money or wants to have it back it has disappeared and the supposed money-makers as well. This trick is called the 'great deceit' and Borrow termed it 'Hokano Baro'. To find their victims these Gypsies have agents who they have recruited from among the nomad comb-makers or the nomad Mohammedan sieve-makers.

No criminal sedentary Mohammedan Gypsies have been noted.

In a general way, the Bulgarian Gypsies are more industrious than the Gypsies in other countries. Among them factory-workers have been also noted.

It is observed that only few sedentary Gypsies are to be found who are criminal and that those who are criminal have close relations with their nomad brethren either by way of origin or by business-dealings (1).

II. Although, in Bulgaria, nomadizing is forbidden many nomad Gypsies are to be noted in that country. The Bulgarian Gypsies actually belong to those Gypsies, who wander the farthest.

The 'Drindaris', who are as a rule sedentary, have among them semi-sedentary members who during the summer go as musicians and dancers or as field-workers from village to village.

Most nomad Bulgarian Gypsies assemble during the winter at the same place, in a village, where they live in huts or in rented houses. Very early in the spring, or even before its advent, they leave their winter quarters to wander through the country. It appears that most tribes have their habitual territory in which they are mainly to be found while only small groups leave their grounds to undertake extensive wanderings.

The 'Zagundjis' and the 'Parpulia' travel on foot through the country while their effects are loaded on donkeys. — The habitually criminal comb-makers travel very fast in light carts drawn by horses. They arrive suddenly in a village when all its inhabitants are in the fields, they steal what they need and disappear as suddenly as they have come. They live in tents in the country and do not venture in the neighbourhood of the towns. — The criminal 'Dinikovlars' are not as rapid in their movements as the comb-makers as they drive carts drawn by buffaloes. — The 'Rudaris' do not like to be in the vicinity of towns either. They only come there for a few days to sell their wares and to buy supplies of raw materials. The local police allows such short visits. — The 'Pletosi' stay in the open during winter and summer.

In Bulgaria, each year during harvest time, naerly all Gypsies help in the fields and it is in this period that the different tribes meet and make contact with each other. Among the Gypsies noted as field-workers, mowers, etc. are the 'Drindaris', the 'Zagundjis', and the 'Rudaris'. It is noted that the sedentary Mohammedan sieve-makers also go harvesting. For the Bulgarian peasants the Gypsies thus provide a welcome help at the most strenuous period in the farming year (2).

III. According to more recent Bulgarian estimates cited by Mr. Block, $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ (= 134.844 Gypsies) of the Bulgarian population is composed of Gypsies (Mr. Thesleff's valuation: 52.132 Gypsies; Bulgarian census of 1888: 50.291 Gypsies or $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of population) (3).

As a rule, the Gypsies are not liked by the Bulgarian population. The honest Gypsies are in disrepute on account of the crimes committed by their criminal brethren. The nomad

'Parpulia' have a good reputation as honest people among the peasants. But the criminal comb-makers also have often good relations with the peasants in whose neighbourhood they are encamped because they have mutually agreed not to steal from these peasants to ensure for themselves a quiet and safe retreat. On the other hand, it frequently happens that a whole band of these horse-thieves is arrested on an arbitrary complaint, this does not matter much, however, because they are found to have committed some crime anyway. From these frequent arrests it follows that a Gypsy wife has a very irregular family life and thus it happens that while her husband is away she accepts some other Gypsy as a temporary marital partner. The reason why these Gypsies left Roumania is that there they were completely deprived of their freedom by strict laws and police regulations which compelled them to live in huts or tents. It was forbidden to them furthermore that more than two related family heads should live at the same place, and they were not allowed to travel any longer and could only obtain a two days' leave.

According to a Bulgarian law of 1886 vagrancy is forbidden. It does not appear, however, to have had much result as many nomads are still to be noted in that country. Horse-stealing is severely punished by long terms of imprisonment and it is complicated by the legally prescribed registration of all horses and the constant control of horse-licenses on which the number, age, price, and the proprietor of the animal are marked. But the Gypsies are also capable of getting around these difficulties (4).

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THE GYPSIES IN THE SOUTH EAST BALKANS.

I. 1. Honest occupations of the nomad Gypsies:

Among the nomad Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans, following honest occupations are to be noted: The blacksmiths do all kinds of foundry work, they shoe horses, make heavy iron tools as used in agriculture, as well as much smaller instruments like needles and locks. In ancient times, they were also the armourers of the former Boyards and Kings. The blacksmiths are often, musicians, at the same time, although they are not so skilled at it as their famous brethren from the town and its cafés. Many musicians and horse-dealers have been also found among the nomad Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans. — Other trades to be noted among the nomad Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans are those of sieve-makers, tanners, pig-dealers, and kettle-menders (coppersmiths). — Lastly, bear-leaders ('Ursari') are to be noted in whose company comb-makers are also often to be found.

The Gypsies sell their wares very cheaply and are thus able to compete with the large factories. But generally, a Gypsy of the South Eastern Balkans will only work when he is in need and when he is forced to it by circumstances. He prefers to do nothing at all while his wife has to provide for the supplies of food and current money. Thus, many nomads are to be found who have no trades at all and wander through the country without any apparent aim.

Criminal occupations of the nomad Gypsies:

As semi-criminal occupations of the nomad Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans that of begging must be mentioned in the first place. Nearly all Gypsies, nomads as sedentaries as well, are beggars but those of the wandering tribes are most addicted to it. As a rule, it is the women and the children of the nomad Gypsies who go to the village and towns to beg for everything,

especially food. Other semi-criminal occupations noted among the women of the wandering Gypsies are fortune-telling, palmistry, and interpreting dreams. Nomad Gypsy women are also heard of as witches who can bewitch people but who can also free persons from spells which have been laid upon them.

The actual criminal occupations of the nomad Gypsies are mostly exercised by the men. The 'Hokano Baro' trick by which a certain sum of money is apparently converted into a larger amount has been observed as a practice among them. Most of the nomad Gypsies are thieves. They steal about everything they want and they are very clever at eluding discovery. It goes without saying that horse-thieves are to be noted among them. Not much evidence is to be obtained regarding their assumptive crime of stealing little children and of deforming them for begging purposes. Some individual cases have been noted but they do not warrant any general statement that the Gypsies are kidnappers. On the whole, the nomad Gypsies are very criminal. The most criminal among them are the 'Netotsi' who are not even allowed to stay in Roumania (5).

I. 2. Honest occupations of the sedentary Gypsies:

The sedentary Gypsies of the South Eastern Balkans practise all kinds of handicrafts. These Gypsy artisans work very cheaply and they sell their wares at low prices which allows them to compete successfully with machine-made articles of the same kind.

Gypsy blacksmiths have settled down at the entrance to a village and with a much better working equipment than their nomad colleagues they make and repair all kinds of iron instruments as used by the population. They do rough as well as fine work.

Many wood-workers and wood-carvers are also to be noted. They make all kinds of kitchen-utensils such as spoons, sieves, etc. The Gypsy wood-workers are not found in Western Europe. — Typical Gypsy trades such as horse-dealing and hawking are also represented among the sedentary Gypsies. — Furthermore, basket-makers are to be found among them. Gypsy brush-makers are rare and probably not entirely sedentary. Only few Gypsy farmers, cattle breeders, and agricultural labourers have been

noted. — In the towns, Gypsies are to be encountered who sell honey and flowers which they have gathered in the country; it may be assumed that they have not yet completely settled down. —

A vestige of the olden days when the Gypsies were still in slavery and compelled to work on constructions are the occupations of brick-makers, masons, and builders' labourers. The same origin may also be ascribed to Gypsy servants, cooks, and chauffeurs (coachmen). — Other Gypsies repair shoes and the younger ones among them are shoeblacks in the streets of the towns. — During the last century, many Gypsies were goldwashers. In connexion with this occupation other Gypsies were specialized workers of precious metals. — Among the 'Vatrasi', the former slaves, many have completely abandoned Gypsy trades. They have become business-men, artists, officers, and some of them are even members of Parliament.

A very great number of musicians is to be found among the sedentary Gypsies. In the course of the 14th century, when the hey-day of the popular minstrels was declining, it appears that the Gypsies took their place. The Gypsy musicians did not play their own music but they accompanied the songs of the people among whom they dwelled and during the 15th century references to Gypsy musicians have been already noted. During the 16th century, Demetrius Karman was a famous Gypsy musician. It is an error to assume that the Gypsy music which one hears to-day is real Gypsy in character. On the contrary, the melodies and songs as played by Gypsy musicians are national, Hungarian, Roumanian, Turkish, or whatever else they may be. The music as played by the Gypsies even accompanied the soldiers into battle and this tradition was observed until the 19th century. The character of Gypsy music is instrumental but since the war of 1914—18 the Gypsy musicians were obliged also to learn the words of the numerous new songs which appeared then. This is, together with the influence of mixed marriage and that of environment, one of the causes why among the Gypsy musicians today there are only a few to be found who still speak and know Romani.

It may be assumed that the trades of scavengers, hangmen, grave-diggers, dog-catchers, and news-boys also noted among the Gypsies are those of sedentary Gypsies and not of nomads.

Criminal occupations of the sedentary Gypsies:

Among the sedentary Gypsies only a few criminals are to be found. Semi-criminal occupations as begging and fortune-telling have been observed among them but in a much lesser degree than among the nomads. Some of the Gypsy workers in precious metals have also taken to coining false money (6).

II. In the South Eastern Balkans most of the Gypsies have settled down. On the other hand, a great number of nomads are still to be noted. This is easy to understand when one bears in mind that these are the countries most inhabited by Gypsies. To-day, the 'Lajesi', the 'Ursari', and the 'Netotsi' are still wanderers. Many Gypsies settle down during the winter and go on wandering tours during the warmer months of the year roaming around in their districts. The other Gypsies have settled down since the last century or they have been sedentary since their days of slavery.

A very curious custom has been observed by Prof. Pittard among the sedentary Gypsies in the Dobrudja and in Moldavia and which seems to be generally known in the Balkans. In springtime after sowing, the sedentary Gypsies suddenly leave their dwellings each year taking everything they possess with them. It appears that they have left them for their obligatory annual 'nomadisation cérémonielle'. During this wandering these Gypsies follow a certain circuit in one direction only. They leave the village at one end to enter it afterwards at the other. During their wandering they live like nomads in tents, they go begging, and make small objects for sale. The duration of their wandering which cannot be even interrupted by death depends on the time they have at disposal. Sometimes, they will make a circuit lasting for some weeks; at other times, they will leave only for a few days on a short journey. When they have no time at all, they make early one morning a short symbolic tour around a field out of sight of the village and its inhabitants. An explanation of this ceremonial wandering of sedentary Gypsies is not given by Prof. Pittard and the question remains unanswered whether these Gypsies only wish to give vent to their nomad inclination or if they are motivated by feelings of a higher order (7).

III. According to Mr. Thesleff, about 300.000 Gypsies live in Roumania and about 280.000 in Hungary and Transylvania. The densest Gypsy population is to be found in Transylvania. From the fact that to-day Transylvania is incorporated into Roumania it may be presumed that this country has the greatest Gypsy population (8).

The Gypsies probably arrived in Moldavia and Wallachia at the beginning of the 14th century. They came there at a very opportune moment for the inhabitants of those countries who, in those days, were the carters of Eastern Europe bringing wares from East to West and in opposite direction. At that time, the greater part of the population was on its way with some transport. The men who stayed at home cultivated the land, while others were soldiers. The women made clothes of hemp which had been specially grown for this purpose. No handicrafts were to be found in these countries where a lack of smiths, wheelwrights, masons, brickmakers, etc. existed. And precisely the Gypsies filled that lack of artisans and working men among the peasants and the carters. The Gypsies who were, and are, bad agricultural labourers were very good at every kind of handicraft. They soon became indispensable and were forced to stay and compelled to work. Thus, before the end of the 14th century, the Gypsies became practically enslaved.

During the 15th century, in accordance with a law of Alexander the Good, the Gypsies owned by the State were free to wander. They were obliged to pay taxes to the State. When Moldavia and Wallachia came under Turkish domination about the middle of the 16th century the transport trade stopped. The peasants were impoverished and they had to sell their lands to the big landowners and Boyards. The movement among the monasteries and the Boyards to enslave every Gypsy was opposed by the Voyvodes who declared that a Gypsy who had no master was the property of the State. After the Turkish domination the biggest landowners were the monasteries which had received the greatest part of their lands as gifts. On these large estates handicrafts and artisans were also badly needed. The Gypsies then became the slaves of the monasteries and afterwards also of the Boyards. These Gypsies lived near the villages, for example,

as smiths. They were relatively free and they had to pay only a tribute to their masters. Others, the 'Vatrasi', fulfilled every kind of house-service. They were cooks, domestic servants, bakers, coachmen, musicians, etc. They lived in complete slavery in the neighbourhood of their masters' houses or castles. The 'State Gypsies' were allowed much more freedom and they only had to pay taxes to the Crown.

In those days, the Gypsies were regarded as mere scum and treated accordingly. To entertain intimate relations with them was not only regarded as indecent but also prohibited. In a decree of the Prince of Moldavia to the priests and the population of the country issued about the middle of the 18th century, it was set out that none of the inhabitants of the country was allowed to marry a Gypsy; a priest who contrary to this order still concluded such a marriage was subject to severe penalties; existing mixed marriages had to be dissolved; if an inhabitant married a Gypsy he or she would also become a slave. On account of the unfavourable conditions in which the Gypsies had to live in Moldavia and Wallachia many of them left these countries and entered Serbia and Transylvania.

At the beginning of the 19th century this attitude towards the Gypsies changed and some Boyards set their Gypsy slaves free. In 1844, in Moldavia, all 'State' and Monastery' Gypsies regained their freedom, the Boyards' Gypsies, however, remaining in slavery. In 1848, all Gypsies in Wallachia were emancipated. The emancipation of the Gypsies in both countries became a fact in 1858 and was completed in 1864.

Since the Gypsies have become free many of them have settled down in the villages where they already dwelled in slavery. Wandering is opposed as much as possible, although, not with very great results. The very severe measures taken against the Gypsy horse-thieves on the Bulgarian frontier (cf. Ch. IV, Bulgaria, p. 193) have only caused these Gypsies to leave Roumania for Bulgaria where laws are much milder.

In a general way, the Gypsies have more or less assimilated themselves to the country. Especially, the 'Vatrasi' who were already almost completely sedentary and had a regular occupation have taken root in the country and they have risen high in the

social standard as members of Parliament, businessmen, officers, artists, etc. Some of them even married into the aristocracy (9).

In Hungary and Transylvania where the Gypsies arrived at about the beginning of the 15th century, they lived until the 16th century in a condition much more favourable to their nature and inclination than elsewhere. At the time of their arrival, the Gypsies represented themselves as pilgrims, as the 'People of Egypt', and they were treated accordingly by the population which gave them alms and food as may be seen from old Transylvanian records dating from the years 1416—1418. But they were granted some privileges also by the authorities of those early times. Although, they were regarded like the Jews and Roumanians as 'servants of the King', the early Gypsies were termed 'our faithful subjects' in a letter of Emperor Sigismund (1423) to all authorities of the country. By this letter the (Gypsy) chief of the Gypsies, Count Ladislaus, was granted exclusive judicial power over the members of his tribe and he and his Gypsies were allowed to manage their own affairs. Furthermore, it was stated explicitly that they lived under the protection of the Emperor. Similar letters have been recorded, for example, during the same century, one being granted to the Gypsies by Uladislaus II. on account of the Gypsies' 'sanctity and pilgrimage', and yet another to the Gypsy chief Thomas Polgar (1496). Whenever the Gypsies did work in towns for the local authorities, they still remained under royal protection and were not subject to the authority of the local officials or that of a Voyvode.

This favourable attitude towards the Gypsies was changed at the beginning of the 16th century and remained so until the 18th century. The authority over the Gypsies was no longer given to a Gypsy chief but as a royal favour for his services to a Hungarian nobleman who was nominated 'Over-Voyvode' and invested with all power over the Gypsies in his district with the right to levy taxes on them. One or two 'Over-voyvodes' were assigned to Transylvania while in Hungary proper four 'Over-Voyvodes' were to be noted, one on each side of the Danube and one on each side of the Theiss.

That the annual collection of the tax of one guilder, one half levied at Easter and the other at Michaelmas, was not always

easy may be inferred from commissions of Queen Isabella (1557) ordering the officials of the country to assist the 'Over-Voyvodes' at the collection of the tax. On the other hand, it appears from petitions made by the Gypsies to Queen Isabella and John II. (1558 and 1560) that the 'Over-Voyvodes' used to levy a higher tax than they were permitted to. The material advantage of these taxes on the Gypsies and cheap labourers made every 'Over-Voyvode' try to keep as many Gypsies in his district as possible and to compel them to settle down in it where they consequently lived in a state of factual serfdom. Nothing definite has been found as to whether the authority of the 'Over-Voyvodes' was only limited to sedentary Gypsies or not. From their point of view, the population of the country regarded the Gypsies as a burden. Although, this was also the opinion of the Government the office of 'Over-Voyvode' was maintained and a great number of Gypsies continued to live in the country. A similar situation was also to be observed in Poland.

Since 1715, all foreign peoples in Hungary were obliged to pay a poll-tax. A Gypsy was tax-farmer (collector) and he was obliged to collect this tax from the Gypsies of his district. This tax of 5 Rhenish guilders and 7 Kreuzer 'Zettelgeld' was levied on all men above the age of 15 years. Women, and goldwashers who paid a tribute in gold were exempted as also the Gypsies at the frontier who defended the country against the Turks.

With the reigns of Maria Theresia and Joseph II. a new, and more friendly policy towards the Gypsies was adopted which aimed at inducing the Gypsies to settle down. By a series of degrees (1767—1773) Maria Theresia tried to change the nomad nature of the Gypsies and to offer them a better future. The Gypsies who were now called 'New Hungarians' ('Uj Magyar') were compelled to settle down. They were no longer allowed to live in tents, to eat carrion, to speak Romani, to elect their own chief, or to engage in horse-dealing. Gypsy marriages were forbidden as long as the father could not provide for his children. Children of married Gypsies were to be taken away from them to be educated. This 'noble' Gypsy policy, however, failed. Not only did the Gypsies ignore it but the Hungarian noblemen also were not inclined to give up their advantages from their Gypsy serfs.

In accordance with measures of a like kind by Joseph II. in respect to the Transylvanian Gypsies (1783), the Gypsies were obliged to settle in Gypsy settlements in woodless regions. In addition to the measures of Maria Theresia, the Gypsies were not allowed to be clothed in their own costumes, to possess horses (except the Gypsy goldwashers), to live in the woods, to marry Gypsy women (forced mixed marriage), to attend fairs, or to go begging. They were allowed to make music only on Sundays. They were obliged to send their children to school and to attend church. Lastly, they were compelled to work in agriculture, an occupation the Gypsies hated most. Those Gypsies who left their settlements were regarded as vagabonds and brought back. Although, opinions differ on the results of these measures it is no wonder that they were unsatisfactory. The 'mild' measures tended to disintegrate the Gypsies individually by the prohibition of the only occupation they liked as well as of their language, and the destruction of their families. But also the attempts made during the last century by Archduke Joseph who founded small Gypsy colonies were a failure. After his death the inhabitants of these colonies disappeared.

More attempts at coercion were made during the last century. Thus, by a law of 1867 (and 1885) wandering was forbidden, the Gypsies were obliged to settle down, and to exercise a profession. Passports were only granted to the heads of families and then only if they had a certain trade. Foreign Gypsies were to be arrested and sent home.

To-day, the greater part of the Gypsies have settled down (according to Mr. Thesleff 9/10 of all Gypsies (10) and that number will have increased since) and most of them live in permanent dwellings. The present situation cannot be ascribed exclusively to the measures and laws taken regarding the Gypsies but the influence of environment and of modern civilization must also be taken into account. The sedentary Gypsies are very poor but they are better treated than the nomads and they have integrated into national life. On the other hand, the nomad Gypsies are regarded as living outside of society. In 1934, it was decided by an 'Agricultural Committee' in the Marczali district that Gypsy babies were to be tattooed with their name and birth-

place a few days after birth. Furthermore, when of age, the Gypsy children were to be sent to school. Lastly, it was decided that the nomads would be obliged to settle down in a village. Thus, to-day, the story repeats itself (11).

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THE GYPSIES IN SERBIA.

I. 1. Honest occupations of the nomad Gypsies:

Among the few nomad Gypsies who still are to be found in Serbia the following honest trades are noted: Tanners, kettle-menders and kettle-makers, gimlet-makers, rake- and harrow-makers, trough-makers, horse-dealers, and a few bear-leaders among whom also sieve-makers are found.

Criminal occupations of the nomad Gypsies:

The following semi-criminal occupations have been noted among the nomad Gypsies in Serbia: Among the 'Lajasi' and the 'Lajinjesce' pedlars and mere vagrants are to be found. Card-telling and fortune-telling are other semi-criminal occupations. Criminal occupations are: Cheating at markets and with horses (Banat Gypsies). Among the nomad Gypsies many thieves have also been noted (12).

I. 2. Honest occupations of the sedentary Gypsies:

In Serbia, the Gypsies are specialists at work in wood and iron. In respect to this the following honest occupations are to be noted among them: All kinds of smiths, blacksmiths, farriers who shoe horses or make nails for that purpose, coppersmiths, kettle-menders. The 'Lajes' among them make cards for carding wool, borers, pothangers. The 'Zavraci' moreover make clippers, files, axes, spades, and hinges. In Serbia, to-day, almost all smiths are Gypsies. The majority of them are so-called Roumanian Gypsies (among them the 'Lajes'). Another section is of Turkish origin but its members have adopted the Roumanian ways of their brother smiths. Some 'White Gypsies' are also smiths. Many smiths are of mixed descent and their origin is no longer clearly ascertainable. The Gypsy smiths have very simple working methods which are handed from father to son. — Among the sedentary Gypsies tanners have also been noted.

Most of the woodworking Gypsies are the descendants of the Roumanian 'Lingurari' whom the 'Rudari' (goldwashers, miners) have joined because, in Serbia, no mining was to be done by them. Some of these Gypsies have given up their original trade. To-day, they make spoons, troughs, washing-tubs, bowls, spindles, tallies, bushel measures, etc.

Many of the sedentary Gypsies are musicians (for example, the 'Lajes', the 'Zavraci'). Gypsy music in Serbia is also of a more instrumental character. Gypsy dancing girls were in great demand during the Turkish occupation of the country; to-day, their appeal is decreasing.

Among the 'White Gypsies' who largely assimilated themselves to their environment the following occupations have also been noted (in Bosnia): Jockeys (when young), coachmen, housemaids, artisans, coffee-roasters, business-men, etc. — Other Gypsy trades noted are: Charcoal-burners, basket-makers, trinket-vendors, day-labourers ('Lajes'), shoeblacks, servants, etc. — Among the 'Zavraci' dealers in wool, wheat, and cattle have been also observed. A few Gypsy peasants and agricultural labourers are also found as well as Gypsy factory-workers.

Criminal occupations of the sedentary Gypsies:

As semi-criminal occupations of the sedentary Gypsies are to be found: Pedlars and beggars. The sedentary Gypsy beggars are mostly women who regularly visit their own special districts where they have their 'clients' and are known. Begging often constitutes for the Gypsies their first means of livelihood while some honest occupation is only of secondary importance.

In connexion with the mendicant habits of the Serbian Gypsies it must be noted that many of them cannot slaughter animals or even prepare food. Furthermore, it must be remarked that begging is so much a habit of the Gypsies that even rich Gypsy women are noted to go regularly on a mendicant tour. On the other hand, the Serbian population propagates the Gypsy begging. The Serbians believe that it is their duty before God to give to the Gypsies with whom they are afflicted by God. They will even give their choicest food (13). Moreover, the Serbian peasants give to the Gypsies because the latter can be helpful to them, not only

at harvest-time but also as fortune-tellers and wonder doctors. Of course, the Gypsies abuse their doctoring attributes. For example, they will tell a woman who is ill that she has worms which must be eliminated. And in fact, the Gypsy doctor will produce some worms out of her ear (exorcism). — There are only few real criminals (thieves) to be found among the sedentary Gypsies (14).

II. In Serbia, almost all Gypsies have become sedentary. The 'Banat Gypsies' of whom only a few have been noted in Serbia are criminal nomads; they have been banished from the country since the end of the last century. The 'Lajes' and the 'Zavraci' have settled down only recently and many of them are semi-sedentary, perambulating through the country as pedlars during the warm months. The 'Lajinjesce' come from Bulgaria to Serbia and when they have sold their wares they return to their homes. The widest wanderers are the few bear-leaders who are to be found in the country; they wander throughout Europe (15).

III. According to the census of 1900, 46.148 Gypsies lived in Serbia at that time, that is to say 1,85 % of the total population (16).

The first Gypsies in Serbia are noted during the 14th century. The oldest Gypsies in Serbia are the Turkish Gypsies; and even during the last century some Turkish Gypsies came into the country ('Korano Rom'). The Roumanian Gypsies ('Karavlaski' Gypsies) arrived since the end of the 17th century with the Roumanians who had left their country because conditions there were too bad. Only when the emancipation of the slaves in Roumania became a fact did this immigration stop. The 'White Gypsies' have only recently come to Serbia from Bosnia. The 'Banat Gypsies' who are nomads and criminals are no longer allowed to enter the country (since 1894).

When the Gypsies arrived in Serbia during the 14th century as specialists in iron and wood they already found Serbian artisans working at the same crafts. In consequence the Gypsies having no other trades sold their wares very cheaply. In course of time, the Serbians gave up their handicrafts and the jobs thus left

open were taken by the Gypsies. Although, to-day, Serbian handicrafts are met with, the wares are copied from Gypsy models. Furthermore, the Gypsies sell their wares so cheaply that the Serbians prefer to buy them rather than make them themselves. The low prices also allow the Gypsies to compete with factory-made wares.

The Gypsies in Serbia have always been obliged to pay a Gypsy tax, both during the Turkish occupation as well as afterwards. After the Turks left (1815) an official tax-collector ('Haraschlia') was nominated who possessed also some judicial power over the Gypsies. He was assisted by two Gypsy officials ('Vecili' and 'Kmetovi') who were elected by the Gypsies. But after 1845, the tax-collector was only allowed to levy the Gypsy tax. Since 1853, the sedentary Gypsies were treated like the Serbian population. They had not to pay a special Gypsy tax any more and the control on marriages and divorces of Mohammedan Gypsies was abrogated. Nomadizing was counteracted by laws and other measures. Gypsies who settled down were freed from taxes for the space of two years (1855). Nomad Gypsies had no right to take part in elections (1869).

By measures enacted in 1879, wandering was forbidden to the Gypsies; they only could receive passports when really required; they had to work regularly. Cattle had to be registered to make it impossible for the Gypsies to steal them. In 1891, it was decreed that all nomad Gypsies had to settle down at their place of birth, that foreign Gypsies had to leave the country, and that on May 1st and November 1st the Gypsies had to be controlled by means of a census. The population itself also exercises some control over the Gypsies as in some villages they have been obliged to settle in the centre while in most villages the Gypsies live on the outskirts. It seems that these measures have had success because to-day practically no nomads are to be found in the country.

Nowadays when the Gypsies have settled down and enjoy the same rights as the Serbians this is not solely due to measures and laws. But the fact that the Gypsies also exercise needed handicrafts in the country and that they assisted the Serbians during the war against the Turks have helped to ameliorate their

position and to quicken their assimilation to the local population (17).

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THE COPPERSMITHS.

I. 1. Honest occupations of the Coppersmith Gypsies:

The nomad Gypsy Coppersmiths were coppersmiths in actual fact. Wherever they came, they went on search for copper vessels and pans to be repaired. They were very skilled at their work, and able by their old fashioned methods to mend articles given to them for repair better than by modern means. They even used out-of-date tools at their work, although, they had no objections against modern instruments but only considered these "inconsistent with nomad life".

Criminal occupations of the Coppersmith Gypsies:

Although, the women did not work they functioned as fortune-tellers. Whenever they were in a country where they could speak the language the Coppersmith women would tell fortunes. Some of the Coppersmith women were also beggars; but the men rarely begged (18).

II. The Coppersmith Gypsies were distant travellers. Their wanderings brought them from South Eastern Europe to Denmark, Sweden, France, Spain, England, North and South America, etc. and even to Australia. They would travel in small groups criss-cross throughout the world. Many have now given up wandering.

III. In many countries the Gypsy Coppersmiths encountered difficulties with the authorities on the grounds of invalid passports, vagrancy laws, and unobservance of sanitary regulations. Then, they were sent away to another locality or to another country. Often they were even not allowed to enter a country (e.g. England, U. S. A.). It seems that most of them wanted to go to the U. S. A. a country which was not always easy to enter but they were very clever at getting round difficulties. One of them, to evade immigration difficulties, bought land in Canada.

After having secured his possession there he went to Boston which was where he wanted to be (19).

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THE GYPSIES IN GERMANY.

I. 1. Not very much is known about the present occupations of the nomad German Gypsies. Although, the German Gypsies studied may be considered as nomads, definite evidence about their actual status is lacking.

Honest occupations of the nomad Gypsies:

Among the original German Gypsies, that is to say the 'Sinti', the following occupations have been noted: the majority of them are musicians (violinists), dealers in cheap violins or repairers of musical instruments. But they prefer not to work at all. Others are artists or have a stand at fairs, some even are circus-owners. Furthermore, among the German Gypsies, the trades of basket-makers, wood-carvers, kettle-menders, horse-dealers, stone-breakers, have been observed. Agriculture interests only a few. The women who are the real supporters of the family sell lace and other wares from door to door. The foreign Gypsies in Germany are horse-dealers ('Ungri'), kettle-menders ('Gelderari'), and carpet-salesmen ('Medvasi', originally, bear-leaders).

Criminal occupations of the nomad Gypsies:

The semi-criminal occupations of nearly all Gypsies in Germany are begging by the Gypsy children and women, and fortune-telling by Gypsy women. Some of the horse-dealers cheat at horse sales, selling bad horses as good ones. Others represent themselves to be veterinary doctors, a job at which they often have real success. Moreover, quacks have been noted among the German Gypsies. Also the 'Hokano Baro' trick or its variations have been noted. Some of the very poor Gypsies are thieves.

I. 2. About the occupations of the sedentary Gypsies in Germany almost nothing is known. The sedentary Gypsies at Sassmannshausen are factory-workers or pedlars whilst their women often are beggars (20).

II. About the wanderings of the German Gypsies ('Sinti'), not much evidence is to be obtained. During winter they assemble in the towns leaving at the coming of warmer months. It appears then that they wander in small groups, large Gypsy gatherings being forbidden, each roaming in its own district and not trespassing on the territory of another Gypsy group. — The foreign Gypsies in Germany are great wanderers. The 'Gelderari' seldom return to the same place (21).

III. The number of Gypsies to be found in Germany has been calculated to be from 2.000 to 8.000 (22).

The first mention made of Gypsies in Germany dates from the year 1407 when according to the accounts of Hildesheim a donation was made to the 'Tartars' (23). At their first appearance in Germany and during the 15th century the Gypsies stated that they were either pilgrims condemned to wander eternally or else to a seven years' pilgrimage. Some Gypsy leaders are known to have presented letters of recommendation from the Emperor Sigismund allowing them certain privileges (1417) (Cf. Ch. IV, The Gypsies in the South Eastern Balkans, p. 203), others had other documents and safe-conducts of the same tenor which often were mere falsifications. Furthermore, the Gypsies in their capacity of pilgrims had a certain right to receive alms and if they received nothing they were relatively free to procure for themselves what they needed by theft and robbery (Augsburg, 1417). Although the Gypsies in those days were regarded with reverence and awe by the local population, at the same time everything was done to keep them away or to persuade them to leave. In many city accounts from those days gifts have been recorded which were paid to the Gypsies in order to induce them to leave, for example in Siegburg (1429) and in Bamberg (1463). On the other hand, the Gypsies were believed to bring pestilence with them. For this reason and still more on account of their criminal activities, at the same time, cases are known where Gypsies were not allowed to pass or they were expelled, for example in Meissen (1416), in the Palatinate (1472, 1482), and in Brandenburg (1482). It happened also that they were sometimes driven away by the local population. — There is not much known about

the identity of the Gypsy leaders who headed these Gypsy bands and only vague evidence pointing to some non-Gypsy leader among them.

At the end of the 15th century, however, the situation is fully changed. The Gypsies are no longer considered as pilgrims but, on the contrary as heathens, traitors to Christianity, and as spies of the Turks and Tartars. In 1498, at the Diet of Speyer, the first general law against the Gypsies was passed. They were banished. In 1500, this law was repeated at the Diet of Augsburg. The Gypsies were not allowed to cross the country and no protection was to be accorded to them. From this date onwards, many decrees, laws, and measures against the Gypsies are issued. In all countries which then composed Germany, the Gypsies were obliged to show passports, they were chased away, and association with the Gypsies was forbidden. The Gypsies were handed over to the mercy of the population. Hunting them was permitted and killing them was even legally allowed (Frankfurt Council, 1571). On the other hand, in many parts of the country they inspired fear in the population by witchcraft and as fire-charmers. In a general way, it appears that all the measures taken against the Gypsies had no great success and the Gypsies continued wandering through the country.

During the 17th century, the Thirty Years' War brought many armies into the country. Many Gypsies followed these armies, plundering the population. Other Gypsies joined these armies as soldiers. Deserters and criminals associated and mixed with the Gypsies and posed as such. Together with the Gypsies they organized bands of mere plunderers, robbers, and murderers who oppressed the country. From then on, very severe measures are taken against these bands of Gypsies and criminals. In many regions they were threatened with death if they passed the frontier (f. ex. Bohemia, 1697; Swabia, 1705; Prussia, 1725; Nürnberg, 1766). Everywhere, they were persecuted, banished, and killed as vermin. Warning placards were placed at the frontiers threatening the Gypsies with being hanged if they trespassed.

In those days, Gypsy life was very arduous. Some Gypsies stayed in the army desertion always being easy. Although, many Gypsies could exercise an honest occupation (artists, pedlars,

wood-workers, veterinary doctors) they were hindered by their criminal brethren who roused the country against all Gypsies. In this way, the honest Gypsies were often driven to theft and other crimes because it was made impossible for them to live honestly. The severe measures taken against the Gypsies were not harder than those with which non-Gypsy criminals were punished and when they were persecuted so severely it was their own fault, because of their disorderly and criminal ways.

During the 19th century, Frederick II. founded at Friedrichslohra (near Nordhausen) a Gypsy colony where the Gypsies could settle down. The children were sent to school and the adults were employed in clearing the woods, etc. In 1830, the Missionary Society in Naumburg took over the direction of affairs. This Gypsy colony was not a success and even the separation of the parents from their children who were sent to school at Erfurt did not furnish any positive results. But also the opposition and the prejudices of the local population largely contributed to the failing of this effort to ameliorate the position of the Gypsies. — Around 1830, Prince Wittgenstein also founded a Gypsy colony at Sassmannshausen (Siegenland) which achieved much better results, although, here too, the Gypsies were not liked by the local population. The Gypsies of that colony became sedentary but they continued to live together. To-day, the men are factory-workers and hawkers whilst the women are still beggars.

That all measures and actions undertaken against the Gypsies have been ineffective may be perceived from the fact that during the 20th century Gypsies are still to be found in Germany. But the Gypsies have learned, too. They avoid criminals as well as the police who supervise them to-day. Foreign Gypsies are still expelled for reason of being kidnappers and spies, accusations mainly lodged in Germany. Although, the Gypsies are compelled by law (1907) to settle down, it appears that they are never to be found at their official habitations and that then they are again on a wandering tour. On the one hand, to-day (since 1926), the Gypsies require all kinds of permits and certificates giving information about their status and profession, their vans must be marked with the names of its owners, they are not allowed to camp longer than 24—48 hours in a village or to leave it at

night while, on the other hand, it is forbidden for the Gypsies to wander when above the age of 14 years or even to assemble in groups. From this it may be concluded that the laws regarding the Gypsies forcing them to settle down are in no way effective and that more practical police measures are necessary to assure control of them. What the National Socialist regime has left of the Gypsies is not known yet. It is certain, however, that they were persecuted (24).

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THE GYPSIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

I. 1. Detailed evidence about the occupations of the Gypsies in Great Britain is lacking.

Honest occupations of the nomad Gypsies:

During the 19th century and the 20th centuries, the following trades and occupations have been noted among the British Gypsies: Many Gypsies are kettle-menders. In Wales, Gypsy smiths working in gold, lead, and silver have been noted. Chairmenders, painters of carts and vans, etc., makers of baskets and safety-pins, and other handicrafts, further hawkers, flower-sellers, etc. have been noted among the New Forest Gypsies. Other trades noted are grinders (English Gypsies) and potters (Scotch Gypsies). Gypsy bellhangers were also found at a time (England). — Many British Gypsies are, of course, horse-dealers and during the last century horse-doctoring was another profession exercised by them. In Wales, Gypsies are to be found who are fishermen and who row tourists on the lakes of the country. — During the last century, a group of Gypsies was to be found who made money by giving balls. Its attraction was augmented by the presence of the Gypsy King and Queen, and by an inspection of the Gypsy camp. — Of course, a great number of the British Gypsies are musicians, violinists, harpers (the Woods in Wales), and even dancers have been found in their ranks. Pedlars, goldwashers, and pearl-fishers were noted among far travelling Gypsies in Scotland. It may be added that during the war of 1914—1918 all Gypsies did their duty in military service.

Criminal occupations of the nomad Gypsies:

Criminal and semi-criminal occupations noted among the British Gypsies are begging and fortune-telling. Many Gypsies are also thieves, while most Gypsies have committed minor infringements such as unobservance of regulations at camping, or even more serious offences as assaults, family quarrels, drunkenness, etc.

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Also deceit by exorcism or by the 'Hokano Baro' trick has been noted to be practised by the Gypsies even at the beginning of the present century. During the last century, among the Gypsies horse- and cattle-thieves were to be found; and pig-poisoning was also noted (25).

I. 2. About the sedentary Gypsies as such nothing is recorded.

II. Definite evidence about the wanderings of the British Gypsies is wanting. Nomadizing is not much opposed by the authorities, on the contrary, it is only regularized. Most British Gypsies therefore are still nomad or half-sedentary (26). In a general way, however, it appears that the Gypsies in Great Britain only wander during the warm months as is the habit, to-day, with almost all Gypsies. During winter, they settle down and even send their children to school. During the last century, 'Van-Missions' were founded which worked among the vagrants of the country and which also managed to convert a few Gypsies (27).

From a Scottish report on tinkers (28) it can be inferred that, in this case foreign, Gypsy women are greater wanderers than men and that they desire to continue their endless and aimless meanderings.

III. To-day, the number of Gypsies in England is estimated at 18.000 (29).

It is supposed that the Gypsies came to England during the second part of the 15th century. The first (Scottish) reference made to Gypsies in Great Britain dates from the year 1505 when it is stated: "1505. Apr. 22. Item to the Egyptianis be the Kingis command, vij lib". (30). Nothing definite is known either about the time of the arrival of the first Gypsies in Scotland. According to tradition they were already located there during the years 1452—1460, and in 1470. Again in 1505, they are mentioned in a letter of King James IV. of Scotland to the King of Denmark "to commend Anthony Gagino, a lord of Little Egypt" who was on a "pilgrimage through the Christian world, undertaken at the command of the Apostolic See" (31).

At first the Gypsies were regarded as pilgrims to whom alms had to be given as in the honour of God. At the same time, the 'Egyptians' in England were in a privileged position which made several non-Gypsies join them. The Gypsies were allowed to hunt, they had a right of trial in case of fraternal affairs (also in Scotland) and in case of a crime committed against a non-Gypsy they were allowed a jury composed of one half Gypsies and the other half non-Gypsies.

In England, the Gypsies were soon regarded in another light. Robberies and other crimes were committed by them and as a result the first anti-Gypsy laws were promulgated. In 1530, under the reign of Henry VIII., an act was passed by which no Gypsies ('Egyptians') were allowed to enter England. Those who were already in the country had to leave it within 16 days. If they nevertheless reentered or remained in the country, all their goods and possessions were taken from them and divided equally between the Crown and those who had seized the Gypsies and their goods. Furthermore, crimes committed by Gypsies against inhabitants were judged by a full English jury. In 1535, a Gypsy or a vagrant who was captured for the first time was flogged and obliged to swear to return to his birth place or to a place where he had stayed previously for three years; if he was caught a second time he was deprived of the upper part of his right ear; a third arrest was punished with death. In 1537 Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, wrote that all Gypsies had to be banished or executed. And in the following years, until the 17th century, many Gypsy expulsions (for example, to Norway) and cases where passports were given to Gypsies to leave are recorded. Searches were made to find them. But on the whole, it appears that these acts and measures were not everywhere fully applied and contradictory references are to be noted, as for example, the probability that in 1540—41 some Gypsies played before Henry VIII. at Canterbury (32).

In 1555, under the reign of Philip and Mary, the laws against Gypsies were tightened up. All passports and licences in their possession were declared invalid. All Gypsies had to leave the country within 20 days. Those Gypsies who were found afterwards had to pay a fine of 40 pounds and those who stayed more than a

month were declared felons and punishable by death. From the exceptions which were made to this law it may be seen, however, that it was not directed against the Gypsies for being Gypsies but to a great extent against their Gypsy ways, occupations and trades, for all were excepted who would give up "that naughty, idle and ungodly life and Company and be placed in the Service of some honest and able inhabitants or honestly exercise himself in some lawful Work or Occupation" (33). Children under 13 years of age were also exempted.

In reign of Elizabeth, namely in 1562, this law was repeated in 'An Act for further Punishment of Vagabonds calling themselves Egyptians'. Moreover, counterfeit Gypsies, that is to say persons who imitated the Gypsies, their speech, outward appearance, etc. were included. Those persons who associated with Gypsies for more than a month at a time or in several periods were declared felons and obliged to suffer death, loss of lands and goods, etc. Exceptions were made for the officials who were obliged to be together with the Gypsies to direct them home to their place of birth where they were allowed to ply an honest trade. The death sentence against the Gypsies was not often carried out but the Gypsies were therefore banished. During the following years, more searches for Gypsies often were made. On the whole, the measures were directed against the idle persons, rogues, vagabonds, and 'Egyptians' who had no honest trade. Palmistry, fortune-telling, mysterious sciences, etc. being considered unlawful.

In Scotland, the Gypsies were still worse and more lawless than in England. During the 16th century, the Gypsies in Scotland were largely allowed to direct their own affairs, they possessed a right to trial and to execute their own offenders. Nothing definite is known about a non-Gypsy chief of the Gypsies nor about the identity of this John Wann, Fall or Faw who ruled over the Gypsies in 1540 and who is mentioned in a document described in the 'Register of the Privy Seal' (vol. XIII, fol. 83) (34).

The Gypsies in Scotland, during the 16th century, were in favour with the Kings of the country. James V. is known to have associated with Gypsies and it has been recorded that they

danced before him in 1530. After a short period during which the Gypsies were out of favour and obliged to leave the country temporarily, in 1553, they are again in favour this time with Queen Mary.

During the regency, in 1573, the Gypsies are condemned as murderers, thieves, witches, etc. and their execution is demanded. By a 'Charge upon the Egyptians' issued the same year by the Privy Council of Scotland the Gypsies had to choose between sedentary work and expulsion. This measure was reinforced the next year by an 'Act for the staunching of masterful idle beggars, away-putting of sorners, and provision for the poor' in which the Gypsies were especially mentioned. This act was directed against unlawful plays, palmistry, fortune-telling, etc. Severe punishments could only be evaded if an honest person took the offender in his service. If the transgressor quitted this service before a year had passed he suffered punishment and was then free for a period of 60 days to leave the country failing which he would be executed. Children under 14 years of age would come into actual slavery if their parents did not settle down. These measures to force the Gypsies to take to an honest sedentary trade failed and they were badly enforced as it may be seen in 1576, when it was ordained that Gypsies were to be brought to justice and that an official who did not execute this order was to be punished himself.

In 1592, a search for vagrants, rebels, and traitors was instituted and such persons were obliged to settle down or to be expelled. By an Act of Parliament under the reign of James VI., in 1597, 'strong beggars, vagabonds, Egyptians' were to be punished with penal servitude for life (repeated in 1599, 1600).

All letters of protection, licences in favour of the Gypsies were cancelled (1603, 1609). By an Act of 1609 (repeated in 1619) it was forbidden to harbour and to give shelter to Gypsies and, in 1612, the right of the Gypsies to manage their own affairs was revoked. A few years later it was declared to be unlawful for a Gypsy to be found in the country on punishment of death (1619, 1626, etc.). In 1627, it was ordained that all Gypsies were to be arrested and forced to become soldiers in the army which was to be sent out to aid the King of Denmark. In 1665, the

Gypsies were to be banished to the West Indies. Many Gypsies fled to Ireland, however, and others organized themselves in bands and made travelling dangerous. Furthermore, the laws and measures directed against the Gypsies and other vagrants were never fully applied and thus it can be explained that during the 16th and 17th centuries in Scotland Gypsies were to be found living there in no unfavourable conditions.

In England, anti-Gypsy measures also had no success. In Constable Accounts and other town records of the 17th century on several occasions sums paid to the Gypsies to leave or for watching over them have been noted. During that period and the following centuries highway robberies were often ascribed to Gypsies but this accusation was rarely true, although, they occasionally committed serious crimes and professional thieves and criminals were to be found among them.

On the whole, measures against Gypsies who had committed some crime were severe, for example cattle-stealing and burglary were subject to sentence of death (1783, 1802, 1822). By Acts of 1822 "all persons pretending to be Gypsies or to tell fortunes or wandering abroad or lodging under tents or in carts were to be deemed rogues and vagabonds" (25). Furthermore, "any Gypsy encamping on the side of a turnpike road was liable to a penalty of 40 shillings". A few years later it was promulgated that any one wandering without visible means of subsistence and any one pretending to tell fortunes by palmistry or otherwise to deceive "was liable for the first offence for three months' imprisonment" (35). Herewith, the Gypsies were not especially named any more, except in the above mentioned ordinance on encampments and the Highway Act of 1835 by which a Gypsy "pitching a tent or encamping upon a highway" is liable to be fined 40 shillings (35).

During the 19th century, in England Gypsy societies were founded aiming to reform the Gypsies by education of their children and settlement of the elders. These societies, founded in England by Crabb (1827) and in Scotland by Baird (1838) were followed by many other attempts which all had only outward success the Gypsies following when they could gain some advantage by it.

To-day, anti-Gypsy legislation in Great Britain has disappeared entirely. By a law of 1871 attendance at school is made compulsory while under the Children's Act of 1908 vagrants are penalized who prevent their children from receiving an education. The 'Movable Dwellings Bill' (1909) stipulates that tents, vans, carts, etc. are to be registered and regulated, that the children living in such 'movable dwellings' are to be sent to school, and that some specified hygienic conditions must be fulfilled.

In England, it appears then that the Gypsies are still allowed to wander without hindrance if they observe the regulations pertaining to vagrant people, wandering, encampments, education, etc. (36).

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THE GYPSIES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

I. 1. Honest occupations of the nomad Gypsies:

Among the 'Macvaya' Gypsies many rich property-owners are to be found; others among them are masons but most of them do nothing at all and rely on their wives' fortune-telling. Among the 'Kalderas' Gypsies, jewel-makers, tinkers with autos (instead of horse-dealing) are also to be noted. As a rule, the Gypsies are good metal-workers. Among the Nomad American Gypsies few professional musicians have been found. Horse-dealers and sellers of lace are noted among the nomad Gypsies of Irish origin while basket-makers have also been found among nomad Gypsies of other origin. The nomad Coppersmiths have no trade.

Criminal occupations of the nomad Gypsies:

Fortune-telling is practiced by nearly all Gypsy women and it brings in a large income as it is very popular in America. The 'Hokano Baro' trick and exorcism are also indulged in by the nomad Gypsies. The women of the nomad coppersmith Gypsies are great mendicants as are some other nomad Gypsy women as well. Picking pockets and blackmailing often constitute the more criminal offenses noted among the nomad Gypsies of America.

I. 2. Honest occupations of the sedentary Gypsies:

Honest occupations of sedentary American Gypsies are: Smiths, musicians, horse-dealers, basket-makers, pedlars, and lace-sellers. Ordinary business-men are also included among them. Among the Gypsies of Roumanian origin who were originally bear-leaders, to-day, animal trainers, showmen, medicine-men, and bear-leaders are found while their wives are fortune-tellers. Industrial workers, mechanics, truck-drivers, and wage-earners are, to-day, professions frequently noted among the sedentary Gypsies. The children tend to abandon more and more the specific Gypsy trades of their parents for more reputable occupations.

Criminal occupations of the sedentary Gypsies:

Fortune-telling and begging are practised also by the sedentary Gypsies. During prohibition some rich Gypsy business-men were speak-easy runners and, on a small scale, brothel-keepers but their women were not allowed to enter these houses (Pittsburgh) (37).

II. It is not known how many nomad Gypsies are to be found in U. S. A. but their number must be rather high. To-day, they travel in auto-cars through the country, more especially in California, visiting industrial centres where business, that is to say fortune-telling is most profitable. It seems that the modern means of transport as well as the liberal regulations concerning wandering have renewed the nomadic spirit of these Gypsies. As a rule, they live in tents during summer and in empty shops during winter staying not longer than a month at the same place (38).

III. The present number of Gypsies in U. S. A. is estimated as being between 50.000 and 100.000 (39).

It is probable that Gypsies arrived during the 17th century already in America where they came either of their free will or by deportation. The great rush of Gypsy immigration is to be noted during the second part of the 19th century. But under the influence of European disdain for the Gypsies, their entry was soon made more difficult and in 1885 some of them were sent back. When immigration into U. S. A. became difficult many Gypsies settled in Central and South America while others entered Canada only to be able to pass from there to U. S. A. where the Gypsies wanted to be above all. It should be remarked that generally no opposition was offered to the entrance of Gypsies who arrived individually.

In U. S. A., the Gypsies, are free to wander and it is only on account of their obscure occupations that they come into conflict with the police who often still allows fortune-telling against a weekly fee paid for this purpose. The nomad Gypsies are not allowed in Florida; evidence of similar regulations in other states has not been found.

The original immigrants who followed the non-Gypsies among

whom they dwelled formerly in some European country remained in their vicinity and largely continued to live in each other's company. The younger generations of the sedentary Gypsies are assimilated to their American environment to a great extent and before another generation has passed many sedentary Gypsies will no longer be identifiable as such (40).

References and notes.

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 - (39). Brown: The Gypsies of America, JGLS3, VIII, p. 146.
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COMMENTARY.

I. 1. 2. Occupations of the Gypsies: The nomad Gypsies (1), the sedentary Gypsies (2). Cf. pp. 192—194, 197—200, 208—210, 211, 215, 221—222, 230—231.

On the basis of the foregoing studies regarding the trade of the Gypsies, their honest as well as criminal occupations can be divided into three groups made up of those professions and exercised by the nomad Gypsies only, secondly as exercised by both the nomad and the sedentary Gypsies, and finally by the sedentary Gypsies only.

The occupations which are exercised by the nomad Gypsies all allow easy displacements. Often no tools and instruments are needed at all or if they are required it is simple to take them along without trouble.

Regarding the honest occupations of the nomad Gypsies only it appears that among many of these people no preference is given to any trade at all unless it is doing nothing, loafing and killing time without a care for anything which is all a nomad wishes for himself. When in three cases only (Bulgaria, S. E. Balkans, U. S. A.) nomad Gypsies are mentioned who pursue no visible trade, it does not mean, on this account, that the nomads in the other countries are better. On the contrary, they have the same wish and the occupation they profess to exercise is only an assumed one. The means of subsistence of these Gypsies is food and money begged and stolen.

As coppersmiths and kettle-menders gypsies are to be found all over the world. Together with the bear-leaders who have mostly given up their original calling they are the greatest Gypsy wanderers. Bear-leading Gypsies have been noted in the S. E. Balkans, Serbia, and in U. S. A. '

Trades pursued by nomad Gypsies which are not to be found in other countries are: cattle- (pig) dealers in the S. E. Balkans; violin-dealers and -repairers in Germany; and in Great Britain,

chair-memders, painters, and by staging balls (profit by being Gypsy).

Among the trades found among both nomad and sedentary Gypsies mention should be made in the first place of that of the iron-workers and smiths (Nomads: Bulgaria, S. E. Balkans, U. S. A.; sedentaries: id., Serbia). The position occupied by these Gypsies as craftsmen and artisans in the afore-mentioned Balkan countries is very important. They have been, and to a great extent still are, the only specialists in the field in those countries and as such they were and are needed by the peasants who constitute the major portion of the Balkan population. Most of them were forced to settle down or else became sedentary of their own free will. In this way, these Gypsies have become an integral part of the national economy of those countries and they have proved themselves able to compete with the large industries. In the countries of Western Europe, however, no Gypsy iron-workers and smiths have been encountered. Here, the need for these crafts was already answered by the inhabitants themselves and, to-day, competition is made altogether impossible by modern technique and costly, and often extensive equipment. The American Gypsies who still pursue these trades which they brought with them from their Balkan country of origin, will be obliged, probably, to give them up or to adopt modern methods (41).

Horse-dealing is another trade to be found among the Gypsies of both kinds. Horse-dealers have been noted among all different nomad Gypsies (except the Coppersmiths) and among the sedentary Gypsies of the S. E. Balkan and the U. S. A. This trade allows the nomads to go from one market to another and to roam the country. The Gypsies' love for horses is well-known and it appears that some sedentaries among them have not been able to abandon their favourite trade so that even in America they have remained true to it. To-day, the increasing number of automobiles has made horse-dealing unprofitable and many Gypsies have already been forced to give it up.

Perhaps the most famous profession of the Gypsies found among nomads as well as sedentaries is that of musicians (Nomad: S. E. Balkans, Germany, Great Britain; sedentaries: Bulgaria, S. E. Balkans, Serbia, U. S. A.). The Gypsy musicians, especially

in the Balkans, have become a part of the national folklore. In those countries, no marriage and no feast can be celebrated without the Gypsies making music at it. Formerly, they even accompanied the armies into battle. One gains the impression that they are needed by the populace and that their absence would make life incomplete. The importance given to them in these countries, the close relations with the non-Gypsies, and the success obtained have induced many Gypsy musicians to settle down so that, to-day, most of them are sedentaries. The nomad Gypsy musicians, generally, cannot compete with their settled brethren. The Gypsy orchestras one hears in Western Europe are composed of (sedentary) Roumanian or Hungarian Gypsies. The nomads of Western Europe play music other than that of the country in what they live. The Gypsy musicians to be found in U. S. A. and who arrived there from the Balkans play Roumanian or Hungarian folk-music (42).

Wood-workers are also found among nomad and sedentary Gypsies (Nomads: Bulgaria, S. E. Balkans, Serbia, Germany; sedentaries: Bulgaria, S. E. Balkans, Serbia). The same as has been said of the Gypsy smiths goes for the Gypsy wood-workers in the Balkans. As artisans they were and are needed by the local population and this way they take a definite place in the national economy of the country. It must be noted that they are not to be found in the Western countries. The Gypsy wood-workers in Germany are really wood-carvers.

Hawking is another occupation which is much followed by nomad and sedentary Gypsies of all countries (Nomads: Germany, U. S. A.; sedentaries: Bulgaria, S. E. Balkans, U. S. A.). It is easy to understand that selling wares from door to door which allows of getting around is inherent in the nomadic spirit of the Gypsies.

In U. S. A. nomad and sedentary Gypsy masons are found. It is very probable that they are descendants of the sedentary Gypsy masons of the S. E. Balkans. In Roumania, during the period of their slavery, many Gypsies were employed on construction jobs as brick-makers, masons, builders' workmen, etc. and nowadays these professions are still to be found among them.

Among the Gypsies of both kinds few agricultural labourers

and farmers are found (Nomads: Bulgaria, Germany; sedentaries: id., S. E. Balkans, Serbia). Agriculture is perhaps the form of work most detested by the Gypsies and from this it is easy to understand that only few of them engage in it.

Other trades and professions exercised by nomad and sedentary Gypsies are: basket-makers (Nomads: Germany, Great Britain, U. S. A.; sedentaries: Bulgaria, S. E. Balkans, Germany, U. S. A.), tanners (Nomads: S. E. Balkans, Serbia; sedentaries: Serbia), workers in precious metals (Nomads: Great Britain, U. S. A.; sedentaries: S. E. Balkans), stallholders, circus-owners, showmen, etc. (Nomads: Germany, Great Britain; sedentaries: U. S. A.).

When the occupations of the nomad Gypsies are determined by their way of living and are conditioned by the possibility to carry the required instruments for their jobs along with them, the trades and professions which are exclusively exercised by the sedentary Gypsies cover a much wider range. Furthermore, these occupations only practised by sedentary Gypsies do not possess the characteristics of being 'typical Gypsy' as do those of the nomads.

Trades found among sedentary Gypsies only, are makers of rush-carpets and coffee-pots in Bulgaria; and makers of brushes in the S. E. Balkans. In the Bulgarian towns, Gypsy porters and carriers are also noted.

With the growth of industry many new workers are needed while at the same time, many handicrafts are given up and become obsolete. Several sedentary Gypsies are to-day factory-workers (Bulgaria, Serbia, Germany, U. S. A.), and day-workers (Serbia), truck-drivers, mechanics and other wage-earners (U. S. A.) have been also found among them.

In the countries where the Gypsies are settled down already for a considerable time they perform all kinds of domestic service as servants, cooks, coachmen, etc. (Bulgaria, S. E. Balkans, Serbia). They have often assimilated themselves so well that they have risen high in the social scale so that, to-day, officers, members of Parliament (S. E. Balkans), and well-to-do business-men (id., Serbia, U. S. A.) can be found among them.

In Bulgaria and Serbia Gypsy girls can be noted as dancers who under the Turkish occupation enjoyed great success. Since

gold is no longer found in the rivers and brooks of the S. E. Balkans, the profession of the goldwashers has died out.

About the employment of the Gypsies as hangmen (S. E. Balkans) nothing definite is known. Even about the question as to whether they were sedentary or nomad nothing is stated.

Most criminals are to be found in the ranks of the nomad Gypsies, and the more serious crimes recorded among the Gypsies are committed by those belonging to this kind.

Horse-thieves and swindlers have been found among the nomad (horse-dealing) Gypsies of all countries.

Superstitious people in the S. E. Balkans believe that some Gypsy women are witches and the nomad Gypsies of these regions cleverly take advantage of this belief to extract money from the fearful peasants.

The poisoning of animals (pigs) without that the meat is going bad has been ascribed to English Gypsies.

Some nomad American Gypsies are known to be blackmailers.

A crime which has been ascribed to the Gypsies in almost all countries at a time or another is that of stealing children. This accusation, however, is very doubtful. Generally, the Gypsies themselves possess a large number of children so that it becomes superfluous to extend the family still more with other children. Actual cases of kidnapping by Gypsies are very rare and do not allow of any generalization.

Among all Gypsies of both kinds begging by women and children has been noted; the men however rarely practise it. In a very great number of cases, begging constitutes the first means of livelihood for the Gypsies. It is often even stimulated by the population for religious reasons, as in the Balkans. Frequently, gifts are made to beggars too for fear that the Gypsy will cast a spell or take revenge if nothing is given. To the Gypsies, begging has become so much of a habit that even rich women have been noted to proceed on regular begging tours.

Just as the men are known as musicians, so are the Gypsy women notorious as fortune-tellers. This profession has been noted among all nomad Gypsies and also among the sedentary Gypsies of the S. E. Balkans and the U. S. A. in which last named country it has even become a very profitable business (41).

Other criminal occupations of the Gypsies of both kinds which are based on the credulity of their victims are quackery and exorcism (Nomads: Germany, Great Britain, U. S. A.; sedentaries: Serbia), and the 'Hokano Baro' trick by which a hidden sum of money is to be increased and multiplied but in reality vanishes (Nomads: S. E. Balkans, Germany, Great Britain, U. S. A.; sedentaries: Bulgaria).

Thieves have been found among all nomad Gypsies. Generally, it is the men who practise this criminal profession. Some of them steal almost everything they need, others again are pickpockets. In Serbia, among a few sedentary Gypsies, thieves have been also noted.

Criminal occupations which have been recorded only among sedentary Gypsies are coining and forging by the goldwashers (S. E. Balkans), and the rôles of speak-easy runners and brothel-keepers (U. S. A.). Capital offences such as murder and homicide are only rarely committed by the Gypsies. As a rule, they are much too scared to execute such crimes.

By and large the Gypsies of both kinds are poor. Yet nomad as well as sedentary Gypsies have been known who were very rich. From the data given, however, no details can be obtained which would elucidate the division of wealth among the different Gypsies.

Comparing the occupations and trades of the Gypsies with those of the wandering tribes in India, many similarities are to be noted. But only a close examination of these trades would allow conclusive statements to be made about the connexion between the Gypsies and Indian tribes in this field. Here, mention is only made of the trades and occupations found among both the Gypsies and the nomad Indian tribes: viz. Skilled musicians, dancers (girls), and singers (girls); iron-workers, blacksmiths; basket-makers; sieve- and brush-makers; showmen and acrobats, jugglers, wrestlers, snake-charmers, etc.; scavengers; farm-hands; hangmen (1000 years ago); beggars (numerous); cattle-poisoners; thieves (numerous); and even variations of the 'Hokano Baro' trick have been noted to be practised by them (43).

Among the Gypsies of the Near East many trades and occupations are also noted which are found among their nomad European

brethren as well: Musicians; iron-workers, smiths; cattle-(horse-) dealers and -breeders, horse-doctors; showmen, acrobats, etc.; sieve-makers, wood-workers; artisans at precious metals; vendors of all kinds of small wares; fortune-tellers and palmists; thieves; beggars. It is said that during the 5th century, 12,000 Indian musicians and jugglers came to Persia who had been invited (or ordered) to come there by the ruling sovereign and that these people are the ancestors of the present Gypsies (44).

Considering the occupations and the trades of the nomad Gypsies, it is seen that while one section of them continues to live in the most primitive manner the women being the real supporters of the family, another section secures itself its livelihood by theft and crime, and the last and largest group among them presents a curious mixture of both the above-mentioned ways and an attempt to adapt themselves to honest useful industries and professions which allow of gainful prosecution.

The sedentaries, on their part, not only exercise the professions and trades of their nomad ancestors but follow as well other, non-Gypsy occupations. Under the influence of modern civilization and social environment many sedentary Gypsies of the younger generations have abandoned the Gypsy trades of their fathers and have become business-men, wage-earners, etc.

Results (Summary).

1. The nomad Gypsies exercise occupations and trades which are easily to be combined with their wandering mode of life. The sedentary Gypsies exercise some professions which are also noted among the nomads while other non-Gypsy occupations and industries have been, moreover, recorded among them.
2. Among the nomad Gypsies, three groups are to be recognized:
 - 1* Those nomads who have no visible means of livelihood;
 - 2* Those nomad Gypsies who obtain the things they need and desire by theft and other criminal methods;
 - 3* The largest group which is composed of those wandering Gypsies who, to a certain extent, have adapted their occupations to the needs and demand of the countries

in which they roam. — Generally speaking the nomad Gypsies are more criminal than the sedentaries.

3. In the Balkan countries, the (sedentary) Gypsies form an integral part of the national life and economy as musicians, smiths, wood-workers, and as other artisans.
4. Noted honest occupations of the nomad Gypsies are: no profession (not criminal?), coppersmiths, kettle-menders, bear-leaders, cattle-dealers, violin-repairers and -dealers, chair-menders, painters, etc.
5. Noted honest occupations of both nomad and sedentary Gypsies are: smiths, horse-dealers, musicians, wood-workers, hawkers, masons, field-workers, basket-makers, tinnerns, workers in precious metals, stall-holders, circus-owners, showmen, etc.
6. Noted honest occupations of sedentary Gypsies are: carpet-, coffee-pot- and brush-makers, porters, carriers, factory-workers, day-labourers, truck-drivers, cooks, servants, coachmen, officers, members of Parliament, business-men, dancers (girls), goldwashers, hangmen, etc.
7. Noted criminal occupations of nomad Gypsies are: horse-thieves, horse swindlers, witches, pig-poisoners, blackmailers, etc.
8. Noted criminal occupations of both nomad and sedentary Gypsies are those of: beggars, fortune-tellers, quacks, cheats by 'Hokano Baro' and other tricks, thieves, etc.
9. Criminal occupations of sedentary Gypsies are those of coiners and forgers, speak-easy-runners, brothel-keepers, etc.
10. Capital crimes such as murder and kidnapping are only occasionally noted among the Gypsies.
11. Comparison with Indian wandering tribes and Gypsies in the Near East shows that many occupations of the European Gypsies are in practice already among these peoples.

II. The Migrations of the Gypsies. Cf. pp. 194—195, 200, 210, 213, 216, 222, 231.

In all countries, nomad Gypsies have been noted in greater and smaller numbers, although, except in England, (and U. S. A.), in a minority as compared to the sedentaries.

In a general way, they only wander during the warm months of the year and in winter they stay in one place, living in their tents or vans or also in huts and rented houses. At this time, different Gypsies belonging to the same group often assemble in a village or town. During their period of migration, these Gypsies wander in districts which they have agreed upon to visit and which they will not leave. Only a few nomads have been found who wander all over the world without returning to the places from which they have come. Such far roaming travellers have been mainly observed among the coppersmith Gypsies and the bear-leaders.

The accounts of the wanderings of the Gypsies do not give any explanation or reason why they wander nor can such information be found elsewhere. The curious custom of making annually a ceremonial wandering (*'nomadisation cérémonielle'*) which has been observed among sedentary Balkan Gypsies does not furnish any explanation why they do this. A statement such as one that their nomad instinct drives them to it is highly unsatisfactory and provides no explanation why and how this instinct sprang up, although, its suppressed urge reveals itself at the annual ceremonial wandering of these sedentary Gypsies.

That the Gypsies are not allowed to nomadize and if they do are driven out of the country to another where they will be expelled again forces them perhaps to wander farther and other than they want. Nevertheless, it is not a reason for migration because, at the same time, nothing is undertaken by the authorities of a same country against sedentary Gypsies but against the nomads only who must settle down if they wish to be left alone. It must be something stronger than that causes the Gypsies to wander, a nomadizing instinct which even exists among sedentary Gypsies as it is to be seen from their ceremonial wandering and from the fact that emigrated sedentary Gypsies, occasionally, become nomads again in their new country (U. S. A.).

According to Mr. Numelin the 'migratory instinct' is caused by the absence of a higher social organization and lack of religion (45). Indeed, among the nomad Gypsies an absolute absence of religion and religious ideas is to be noted while their adherence to the Christian or other faith is only superficial and

directed by material and practical interests. Absence of definite constant social organization above the family is to be observed also among the nomad Gypsies. But this is only true to this extent that no definitely organized leadership and direction of affairs are found among them.

On the other hand, it is to be seen that the Gypsies are divided into small groups which are based on relationship and which were organized formerly in larger endogamous tribal groups. Thus, the absence of real leadership and of regulative, all embracing authority may have encouraged irregular life and given rise to wandering which in its turn, will have engendered confusion in the existing organization. Originally, bad economic conditions may also have furthered the constraint to migration. This assumption is strengthened by the causes given for the dispersal of the present Indian 'Gypsies': "the restriction of their area, the extension of agriculture, the spread of canal irrigation, the reduction of jungle-land, and the diminishing quantities of game which is so necessary to their existence" (46). For the European Gypsies of to-day, this is not entirely true any longer because for nomads conditions are equally bad in all countries when one considers the measures which are taken against nomadizing. But in Great Britain and U. S. A. where regularized wandering is still possible economic conditions will influence largely the direction of migration.

The fact that women are noted to be greater wanderers and cause their husbands to go wandering may be an indication of their influence on affairs in that case (Scotland) but no generalization should be made as corroborative evidence is lacking.

In those countries where nomadizing is not directly forbidden, it has been found that autocars have furthered it allowing of greater journeys and more comfortable transportation. It shows that when wandering is allowed modern civilization has only little influence on the nomad Gypsies who accept its advantages and apply them to their nomad way of life (47).

Results (Summary).

1. In all countries studied except in Great Britain (and U. S. A.?) a minority of nomads as compared to sedentary Gypsies has been noted.

2. In a general way, to-day, the nomad Gypsies only wander during the warm months of the year and, in the wintertime, assemble in villages and towns where they live in tents, vans, huts, or rented houses.
3. On the whole, the nomad Gypsies wander in districts which they only leave at rare occasions. — The bear-leaders and coppersmiths have been noted as great wanderers.
4. In the S. E. Balkans, sedentary Gypsies have been observed to go on an annual 'ceremonial wandering'. It proves that a strong 'wandering instinct' is inherent in all kinds of Gypsies.
5. The 'wandering instinct' of the Gypsies is believed to be caused by the absence among them of religion and of real leadership and regulative, all embracing authority. Economic conditions also influence wandering to a greater or lesser extent.
6. In one case, Gypsy women have been observed to induce their husbands to continue wandering. This may indicate that these women do possess certain influence. A statement with general validity on the subject cannot however be made.
7. In those countries where nomadizing is not strictly prohibited, it is noted that modern means of transport encourage the wandering of nomad Gypsies. It proves that nomad Gypsies accept the advantages of modern civilization but that they are little influenced by it.

III. The non-Gypsies and the Gypsies. Cf. pp. 195—196, 201—206, 210—211, 213—214, 216—219, 222—227, 231—232.

It can be seen from the numbers given of the Gypsies living in the different countries that among these the S. E. Balkans, that is to-day Roumania and Bulgaria take the first places and that the U.S.A. holds the third place among the countries harbouring Gypsies.

While reactions towards the nomad Gypsies are about the same in all countries and the inhabitants do not like them, although, the sedentaries are accepted more and more as ordinary citizens, some differences in Gypsy policy have been noted.

In the S. E. Balkans and in Serbia, the Gypsies became the

artisans and craftsmen of the country. In Roumania, they were so much needed that they fell into slavery on that account and in Serbia, the local artisans gave up their trades so that the Gypsies became the only specialists therein. Others were needed for domestic service and as cheap labourers which was another reason to reduce them to slavery and serfdom and to keep them thus (S. E. Balkans). The Gypsy tax paid to Over-Voyvodes was also a cause that the Gypsies were forced to stay, although, government and people wanted them to leave.

In Hungary, Germany, Great Britain, and also in other countries not studied here, the Gypsies stated at their first arrival (15th century) that they were pilgrims and as such privileges were accorded to them. But on the whole, the Gypsies inspired fear in the population and it often happened in consequence that they were paid to leave. At the end of the 15th century and during the 16th century, their disorderly mode of life and the accusation of being spies and pagans caused measures to be taken against them and a control of the Gypsies was instituted. In Germany, at that time, the measures were directed essentially against the Gypsies as such while in England it was their occupations and nomadizing habits which were mainly aimed and violators threatened with death. During the 17th century, in Germany, the large mixed criminal Gypsy bands, which had come into being after the Thirty Years' War, occasioned a more acute persecution of the Gypsies aiming at their complete extermination in that country.

Since the end of the 18th century, movements have been observed, in all countries, to ameliorate the position of the Gypsies and to oblige them to give up their nomad ways. But the measures which were taken to this effect lacked by and large all understanding of the Gypsies and moreover tried to make them give up being what they were, that is to say, Gypsies. One can change a person's ways but one cannot make him other than he really is.

In all continental countries, to-day, anti-vagrancy laws are in operation but they cannot hinder that nomads are still found in these countries. All measures against nomadizing have been shown to be ineffective when social and economic conditions do not allow of settling down. This is illustrated, in the case of

Germany where the Gypsies were continually persecuted. Yet they remained nomads and did not leave the country, while in the Balkans, the majority of the Gypsies have settled down under the stress of measures against nomadizing but under conditions allowing them to do so. On the other hand, the absence of laws against nomadizing and the mere regulation of it (Great Britain, U. S. A.) are the cause why most Gypsies stay nomads. This proves that, although, the influence of modern civilization and its social and economic conditions is increasing, anti-vagrancy laws will speed up the settling down and the normalization of the Gypsies.

Results (Summary).

1. Most Gypsies are to be found in the Balkan countries, which are followed by the U. S. A.
2. Nomad Gypsies are generally despised by the inhabitants of a country. Sedentary Gypsies are accepted to a high degree as ordinary citizens.
3. In the Balkans, the Gypsies were obliged by slavery and serfdom to remain because they were needed in those countries as artisans and craftsmen.
4. During the 15th century, privileges were accorded to the Gypsies who posed as pilgrims (Hungary, Germany, Great Britain, and other countries).
5. Anti-Gypsy measures have been taken since the 16th century. They were caused by accusations that the Gypsies were spies and pagans, and on account of their criminal ways of life. In Germany, these measures were directed against the Gypsies as such; in Great Britain, against their unlawful occupations in the first place.
6. During the 19th century, movements to ameliorate and to normalize the position of the Gypsies proved to be unsuccessful arising out of lack for understanding of the Gypsies.
7. Anti-vagrancy laws are ineffective when not combined with favourable social and economic conditions in respect to the settlement of the Gypsies. The effect of the influence of modern civilization and social environment is strengthened by anti-vagrancy laws.

Conclusion.

Although, the numerous similar occupations which have been traced among the Gypsies and the Indian wandering tribes may lead to the determination of relations between these peoples, the evidence given cannot be considered sufficient to allow of final conclusions on the subject. An investigation into these relations, however, would go beyond the limits of this study.

Considering the nomad Gypsies it has been seen that their activities to a great extent remain outside the sphere of the social environment of modern society. On the other hand, it should be remarked that some of the occupations of the nomad Gypsies could not be exercised without migration, for example, horse-dealing and hawking. Their wanderings only bring them temporarily into contact with their environment, especially, when they are wandering from one place to another without ever returning to a region already visited. They only accept and utilize the advantages arising out of modern civilization and its industries when they are compatible with nomad life and do not alter their habits. But the influence of modern civilization and of social environment increases when the nomad Gypsies return annually to the same place to pass the winter months. These Gypsies, that is to say about all nomad Gypsies, cannot be described as entirely nomad but they should be termed semi-sedentary Gypsies.

The influence of social environment is greatest among the sedentary Gypsies. It is constant, and wandering no longer they cannot escape it. In the beginning they resist but the younger generations already yield to it and give up the old professions of their fathers. The effect of the influence of social environment can be seen from the fact that among the sedentary Gypsies a great number of professions and occupations are found which have no connection at all with their former way of life. They become less Gypsy and tend more and more to be absorbed into non-Gypsy society.

References and notes.

- (41). Cf. L. Wiener: *Gypsies as Fortune-tellers and as Blacksmiths*, JGLSn, III, pp. 4—17, 253—276.

- (42). Cf. F. W. Brepohl: *Die Zigeuner als Musiker in den türkischen Eroberungskriegen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, JGLSn, IV, pp. 241—244.
- (43). Cf. I. Brown: *Roms are Dôms*, JGLS3, VII, pp. 170—177;
 Drab, JGLSn, III, pp. 150—163;
 T. Grahame Bailey: *Brothers of the Romane: A Downtrodden Tribe in North India*, JGLS3, VII, pp. 120—121;
 M. E. Lyster: *The 'Hokano Baro' in India*, JGLSn, VI, p. 157;
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CONCLUSION.

THE PHASES OF ASSIMILATION AND INTEGRATION OF THE GYPSIES INTO MODERN SOCIETY.

With the completion of this study the course of the Gypsies from nomads to sedentaries, from outsiders to members of modern society becomes evident.

At the time of their arrival in Europe, the Gypsies were influenced by the peoples among whom they had lived previously. Even quite recently remarkable parallels with wandering Indian tribes concerning the organization of the family and occupations have been noted among the nomad Gypsies. But the heterogeneous evidence submitted does not allow a final determination of the ancestors of the Gypsies. On the contrary, differences are remarked and it seems much more probable that they have borrowed from and are descended from a multitude of peoples who came together a time long ago.

It becomes then a matter of great difficulty to ascertain the origins of the motherright institutions which have been found among nomad Gypsies. It is improbable that motherright primarily originated among them when one considers the heterogeneity of their Indian ancestors. On the contrary, it may be assumed that these motherright institutions have been adopted from peoples with whom the early Gypsies already mixed during their Indian days, and it may be supposed as well that they have arisen out of the predominating economic function taken by woman in Gypsy society. On the other hand, one should be careful not to overestimate the position of woman in Gypsy society because it has been observed that in the Gypsy family the authority belongs to the father while nothing has been found about the authority of a wife's brother over her family.

Since the Gypsies left India many of their original customs have changed or have been completely abandoned. On their wanderings

from India to Europe, the Gypsies were influenced by those peoples among whom they dwelled consecutively, for example, by the Persians and the Arabs. Thus, at the moment that they come to Europe for the first time the Gypsies are already pervaded by influences of different origin. In phase 1 (fig. 2) this moment is illustrated. The Gypsies still live outside the sphere of influence of social environment of modern society.

The influence of social environment appears to be least among the nomad Gypsies. The nomad way of life is the best form of protection against all external and non-Gypsy influences while anti-Gypsy measures as well as a bad pro-Gypsy policy have only accentuated it formerly. The nomad Gypsies still have a more or less native and original family organization, they still observe rules concerning their political organization and legislation, and they still carry out typical Gypsy occupations. But this does not mean that they are not liable to non-Gypsy influences of their environment. Even the widest wandering Gypsies have undergone outward influences of various origin. When among them their organization has maintained to a certain extent its originality, their customs, for example as observed at marriage, are adopted from other European peoples among which they have lived. Their external characteristic as being original Gypsy customs is only appearance followed from the fact that these customs have become obsolete among the European peoples and that the nomad Gypsies only are a few centuries behind them. The case of those nomad Gypsies who lived for a long time under Turkish domination as distinguished from those Gypsies who did not (nomad S. E. Balkan, German, and English Gypsies) shows that their social organization is also subjected to non-Gypsy influences, although, in this case, a possibility exists that they were sedentary at one time. In a general way, the nomad Gypsies accept the advantages modern non-Gypsy civilization offers them to-day as, for example, the use of autocars. But this does not mean that they assimilate themselves to non-Gypsy society. The continual change of domicile allows the nomad Gypsies to evade the constant pressure of one and the same social environment and thus they withdraw themselves from a certain ultimate integration into non-Gypsy society.

In figure 2 the different phases of the growing influence of social environment and the enfollowing assimilation and integration are demonstrated.

Phase 1, nomad Gypsies in modern society who are not influenced by its customs and concepts, can be considered as non existent.

Phase 2 illustrates wide wandering Gypsies who have accepted the advantages of modern society and who have adopted several

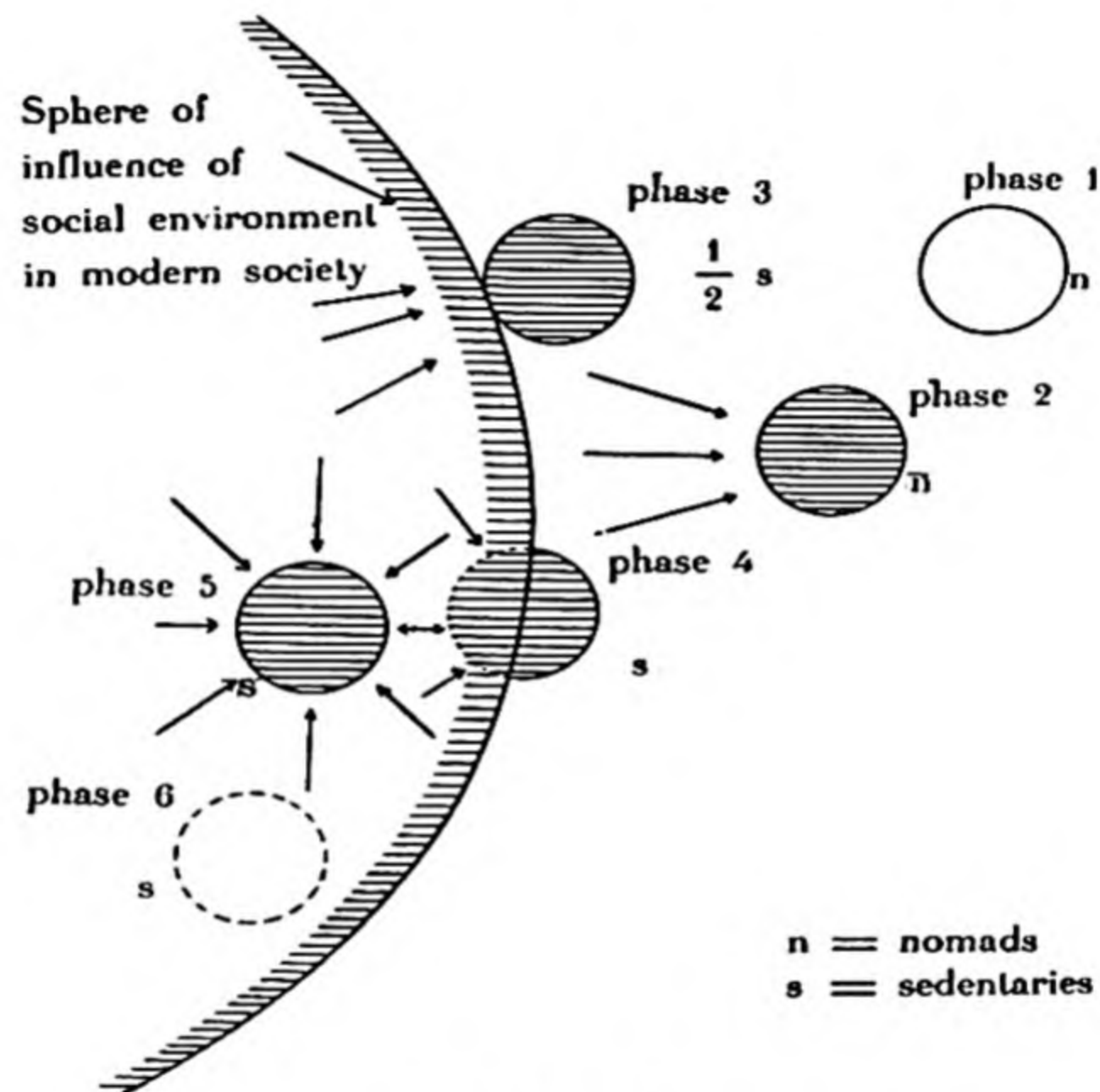


Figure 2.

non-Gypsy customs; they are subjected to different influences of social environment at different places and times.

Phase 3 shows nomad or semi-sedentary Gypsies who return regularly to the same place to hibernate; they are liable to the same regular pressure of their social environment from which they can only withdraw themselves during the warm months.

The influence of social environment on the Gypsies is strongest when they are settled down. No retirement to a new domicile to escape non-Gypsy influences is possible any longer. The

integration and assimilation of the sedentary Gypsies are hastened by the disrepute in which they are held by their nomad brethren as well as by the local non-Gypsy population. Mixed marriages also tend to quicken the pace of assimilation and integration. The first generation of Gypsies who have become sedentary still presents some typical Gypsy characteristics and Gypsy occupations. But already the following generations show signs of growing divergences from Gypsy society. Original Gypsy rules are not observed any more, trades which could not be exercised by nomads are taken to, and typical non-Gypsy habits are adopted. It appears that in the Balkans, the sedentary Gypsies who have, from their side, fully assimilated themselves to its population, nevertheless still represent a certain class apart and that here, although they are an integral part of this population, one cannot speak of their integration and fusion in it. The importance which they possessed originally as artisans and at handicrafts of the country made them an essential factor of its economical life and as such set them apart. Furthermore, the less advanced stage of the development of modern civilization and with it the smaller pressure of social environment still allow the Gypsies to form a group which can be recognized as different from the others. This situation, though in a diminishing degree, is still strengthened by the disrepute in which the sedentary Gypsies are held and which can be ascribed mainly to the bad name which the nomad Gypsies have in the country. When integration into national life is not complete in the Balkans, in Western Europe and in America the much stronger influence of social environment and of modern civilization make complete assimilation and integration necessary. Whilst in those latter countries nomad Gypsies are clearly recognizable and constitute an exception to which attention is involuntarily drawn, the sedentary Gypsies cannot be distinguished any longer from ordinary citizens unless it be for their dark complexion. It must be assumed that in the Balkans with the advancing progress of modern civilization the Gypsies as such will also disappear slowly.

In figure 2 the last phases of the disintegration of the Gypsies and their assimilation and integration into modern society are

illustrated. Phase 4 represents sedentary Gypsies of the first generation who in part still observe Gypsy and quasi-Gypsy customs and rules. In phase 5 the Balkan Gypsies are shown; they constitute an economic part of national life and they have fully assimilated themselves to it but, at the same time, they are still to be distinguished from it and they have not yet fully integrated into it. Phase 6 shows the complete assimilation and integration of the Gypsies into modern society. In this case, one cannot speak any more of Gypsies at least from the sociological point of view.

The present situation shows that among the Gypsies, and among the sedentaries much more than among the nomads, a progressive disappearance of original Gypsy civilization is noticeable which expresses itself finally in the abandonment of Gypsy customs and ways, as well as of Gypsy professions and in the oblivion into which the Gypsy language has fallen. The dissolution of Gypsy civilization is still further stressed by the decomposition of Gypsy society which has broken up into numerous small sections. In a general way, these small parts, among which only the immediate family is still clearly recognizable, are not organized in a larger body while their relations are limited to external manifestations. Viewed from the other side, the populations among which they live regard the Gypsies as aliens and in consequence as people to be repulsed. But on the other hand, it has been noted that the Gypsies have been accepted and nationalized by the populations of different countries because they were of national or economic interest to them. It is to be feared, however, that in the future the Gypsies as a typical people which can be recognized as such will disappear.

Zürich-Glion, 23. I. 46.

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CURRICULUM VITAE.

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